Homer's Winged Words

THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY GREEK EPIC DICTION IN THE LIGHT OF ORAL THEORY

STEVE REECE

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The Evolution of Early Greek Epic Diction in the Light of Oral Theory

by
Steve Reece

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I dedicate this work to my son Taylor Martin Reece and to my daughter Hannah Christine Reece, who have demonstrated for me in the laboratory of life many curious permutations of the English language. Some have involved the shifting of ambiguous word boundaries, resulting in curious English phrases not unlike the Homeric phrases that are the subject of this work. I hope that the reader will find the following Homeric permutations both as entertaining and thought-provoking as I found those of my children.

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It took the Achaeans ten long years to conquer Troy, and it took Odysseus another ten to make his way back home again. It has taken me even longer to accomplish the much less heroic task of writing this book.

I recall vividly when and where the project began: during a casual conversation one late afternoon with a fellow graduate student in the reading room of the UCLA Classics Department. We were puzzling over the word νήδυμος (*nedumos*), a common epithet for sleep in Greek epic verse: did it mean 'painless,' as some of the lexica we examined suggested, or 'encompassing,' or 'inescapable,' or 'womb-like,' as others proposed? Or, as one lexicon hesitantly offered, was the adjective simply an odd form of the common adjective ἥδυμος (*hedumos*), meaning 'sweet,' the initial ν- (*n*-) having been transferred from a preceding word that ended in -ν (-*n*)? This made excellent sense semantically, and a quick look at the phrases in which the epithet is commonly found embedded in epic verse provided confirmation: the preceding word often ended with a dispensable -ν (-*n*). The formula ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος (*eche nedumos hupnos*), for example, could easily have resulted from a resegmentation of an earlier ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος (*echen hedumos hupnos*) 'sweet sleep took hold of so-and-so,' with the verb ending in a so-called 'nu-ephelkystikon' (movable nu). Our deliberations on the Homeric formula brought to my mind a query that a youngster had once made after hearing a recitation of Psalm 23: "What are *nenemies*, and why do they give us *presents*?" He had, of course, misunderstood and resegmented the archaic phrase 'the presence of mine enemies.' This comparison was illuminating, for it offered us a rare glimpse of the living, changing, and very human process that was also responsible for the language of the Homeric epics, even though we know them today largely as fixed, canonical, and impersonal texts. It was a memorable discovery, and I resolved to explore this process further when I had time.

This project has followed me around ever since, like an always steadfast and usually welcome companion, on my peregrinations from California to Texas to Tennessee to Minnesota, with several detours

through Italy and Greece. Many whom I met along the way have good-naturedly tolerated conversations about the project and thereby contributed to it in ways large and small. In particular, I wish to acknowledge my debt to those teachers and colleagues who introduced me to at least some of the facets of the multifaceted discipline that we call Homeric Studies: Alfred Burns, Dennis Ellsworth, Paul Roth, Ann Bergren, Richard Janko, Michael Haslam, Steven Lattimore, Jaan Puhvel, Sander Goldberg, Sarah Morris, Cynthia Shelmerdine, Oliver Taplin, Martin West, Walter Burkert, Mark Edwards, Tom Palaima, Cornelius Ruijgh, George Bass, John Lenz, William Race, and John Foley.

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A project like this requires more time and resources than a disinterested observer might expect, indeed more than he or she might, rightly or wrongly, think it deserves. I have gained both time and resources from the following institutions, even though this project was usually the secondary rather than primary recipient: Lord Fellowship at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; Fulbright Fellowship at the American Academy in Rome; NEH Fellowship at the Center for Studies in Oral Traditions at the University of Missouri; Summer Grant at the Center for Hellenic Studies; Woodrow Wilson Millicent C. McIntosh Fellowship; Saint Olaf Release Time Grant and Sabbatical; Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Grant; NEH Fellowship at the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Michigan. I trust

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Steve Reece
Northfield, Minnesota, USA
December, 2008

PART ONE

CATEGORIES OF JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

> ἙΡΜ.…οὐ γὰρ φύσει ἑκάστῳ πεφυκέναι ὄνομα οὐδὲν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει τῶν ἐθισάντων τε καὶ καλούντων.
>
> Hermogenes: "No name of any particular thing comes about by nature but rather by the convention and usage of those who employ it and refer to it."
>
> ΚΡΑ.…ὃς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπίστηται, ἐπίστασθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα.
> Cratylus: "Whoever knows the names of things knows also the things themselves."
>
> (Plato's *Cratylus* 384D, 435D)

> What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other word would smell as sweet.
>
> (William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* II.ii.43–44)

> "When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less." "The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."
>
> (Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass* Chapter VI)

For over 2500 years many of the most learned and eccentric scholars of the Greek language have concerned themselves with the topic of etymology: the science of words—their origin and their development. The most productive source of difficult, even inexplicable, words was Homer's 28,000 or so verses of epic poetry. Homer himself did not understand some of the proper names and traditional words and phrases that had been passed down to him, and on occasion he toyed with various meanings in a naive way that is now called 'folk etymologizing': so his tragic hero 'Achilles' is a man of 'grief' (ἄχος), who chooses 'to perish' (φθίσεσθαι) far from his home in 'Phthia.'[1] Not a generation had passed

[1] *Il.* 19.329–30; *Od.* 11.486. On such folk etymologizing of names in Homer, see M. Sulzberger (1926), L.P. Rank (1951) 35–73, B. Louden (1995), and S. Reece (1997).

since the composition of the Homeric epics before reciters and listeners, readers and interpreters, from the earliest rhapsodes to the pre-Socratic philosophers and Sophists, to Plato and Aristotle, to the Stoics, began increasingly to question the meaning and derivation of proper names, individual words, and longer formulaic phrases, and before long an industry of scholarship on etymology had arisen, reaching its zenith among the learned librarians and associated scholars of Alexandria and Pergamum: venerable names like Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus of Athens, Dionysius Thrax, and Didymus; ones generally less well known today like Crates of Mallos, Tryphon, Apollonius Sophista, Apollonius Dyscolus, and Aelius Herodianus.

Many of these scholars regarded etymology as a means to truth; 'etymology' literally means 'a study of what is true.' After all, nature herself had designated the proper names for all objects, and it was their scholarly duty, if they were to possess true knowledge, to discover their ultimate origins. If they could but recreate the etymology of a word, they would know what it meant in any context, for the name of an object was as much a natural property of that object as its shape or size or constitution. The seminal articulation of this 'naturalistic' school, which maintained the view that words were a product of nature (φύσις) rather than a result of convention (νόμος), can be found in the arguments attributed to Heraclitus' pupil Cratylus in Plato's *Cratylus*. The 'naturalistic' view was also embraced by the Stoics—Zeno's Περὶ Λέξεων, Cleanthes' Περὶ τοῦ Ποιητοῦ, Chrysippus' Περὶ Ἐτυμολογικῶν—and it was by and large the view adopted by the Alexandrians.

Equally enthusiastic about etymology were those scholars who were keen to recreate the original, pure forms of words (the ἔτυμα) by identifying the mutations (the πάθη) that had occurred in their later derivatives: prothesis (the addition of a sound), aphaeresis (the loss of a sound), metathesis (the interchange of a sound), and such. A virtual subdiscipline of philology arose called 'linguistic pathology.' Aelius Herodianus, for example, composed a treatise titled Περὶ Παθῶν τῆς Λέξεως that has partially survived in later citations. This treatise was apparently based on the work of Didymus (cf. scholia on *Il.* 3.272, 11.160, 17.201) as well as on the work of Herodianus' own father Apollonius Dyscolus (the *Suda* [sub Ἀπολλώνιος] and Stephanus' *Ethnica* [sub Καρία] both mention a Περὶ Παθῶν by Apollonius Dyscolus). The works of all three appear to have been based on the work of the grammarian Tryphon, who founded this subdiscipline of

'linguistic pathology,' but whose own Περὶ Παθῶν has survived only embedded in a later abridgment.[2]

Some of this fervor for etymology diminished as the view that language formation is largely arbitrary gained the upper hand: that, save for a few expletives and onomatopoeic words, the relationship between a word and what it signifies is simply a matter of human convention (*pain* is as valid a name for bread as *bekos*). The seminal articulation of this 'conventionalist' school, which maintained the view that words were a result of convention (νόμος) rather than a product of nature (φύσις), can be found in the arguments of Hermogenes in Plato's *Cratylus*. The 'conventionalist' view had been proposed in an embryonic form as early as Democritus (cf. Proclus on Plato's *Cratylus* [Diels 68 B 26]), and it was later strongly supported by Aristotle (*De Interpretatione* 16a1–17a8). It was also embraced by Crates of Mallos, and it was by and large the view adopted by the scholars of Pergamum.

Understandably, the rise of the 'conventionalist' view closed off many paths of inquiry for the Homeric etymologizers. The practice of Greek etymologizing had never been based on scientific methodology, but it had nonetheless been pursued with great enthusiasm, for it had found itself embroiled in one of the great philosophical debates of antiquity: on the origin of language. In this old philosophical dispute over the origin of language Socrates appears in Plato's *Cratylus* to have taken an intermediate position: that language began naturally—inasmuch as words are vocal imitations of their objects—but was modified by convention in its later stages of development. This appears also to have been the view of Epicurus and his ancient commentators.[3] But once the discipline became disengaged from these philosophical underpinnings, lexica and treatises on etymology, though continuously produced through late antiquity and into the Byzantine period, began to deteriorate into unimaginative compilations of inherited scholarship, such as the lexicon of Hesychius, the *Etymologicum Magnum* and its predecessors, and the *Suda*. The same can be said of their later European counterparts, such as Stephanus' 16th century *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*.

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2 For a modern compendium of such *pathologiae* in the ancient Greek language as a whole, see C.A. Lobeck (1853, 1862).

3 *Epistula ad Herodotum* 75–76; cf. Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* 5.1028–90, Diodorus Siculus 1.8.3–4, Diogenes Oenoandensis fr. x, cols. ii–iv, Diogenes Laertius 10.75–76.

The last two centuries have seen their share of momentous advances in scholarship related to Homeric language, however, and with them a renewed interest in etymology, this time based on sound historic and comparative methodology. The relatively recent discipline of comparative Indo-European linguistics—from the discovery that Sanskrit was sprung from the same source as Greek and Latin, to the decipherment of Hittite and its consequent identification as an Indo-European tongue—has presented many feasible solutions to previously inexplicable Homeric words and phrases. The even more recent decipherment of the Linear B tablets, which have revealed a form of Greek five-hundred years earlier than Homer, has offered a few more solutions. And, finally, the belated acknowledgment that the early Greek lexicon contained a large number of non-Indo-European loan words has directed the eyes of Homeric scholars to the east and southeast in search of Anatolian, Semitic, Iranian, and Egyptian origins. New discoveries have given rise to a plethora of Homeric lexica and etymological dictionaries, culminating in the magisterial (and still ongoing) *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*.[4]

Yet, many Homeric words still lack attestation in Linear B, recognizable cognates in other Indo-European languages, or recognizable roots in the languages of the Near East, and of these many even lack a family of related words, derived independently of Homer, within the later Greek language itself. These words have no linguistic history, and but for Homer they would have had no linguistic future; they are—to use an extreme sense of the term—'lexically isolated.' The only clues to their meanings, then, are the narrative contexts in which they occur, and so Homeric scholars through the ages have been faced with the common challenge of trying 'to elucidate Homer from Homer'—Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν in Porphyry's words.[5] But this presents its own difficulties, especially in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, which is quintessentially ornamental and therefore sometimes little concerned with the contextual appropriateness of individual words.

In short, even after over 2500 years of close examination by the world's most astute grammarians and lexicographers, the meanings of scores of words in the Homeric epics remain inexplicable; we frankly

[4] Major lexical and etymological works of the last two centuries that are cited in the following chapters are listed in chronological order in Appendix I.

[5] *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum Liber I* 56.3–4 (in A.R. Sodano's edition).

do not know what they mean and, in some cases, cannot even venture a reasonable guess. The warnings *originis dubiae, étymologie inconnue, ohne Etymologie*, and *the meaning is unclear* regularly register admissions of ignorance in the major etymological dictionaries.

Let me offer as one measure of the difficulty involved the often reiterated remark of Aristarchus that "many are the things said only once by the poet" (πολλὰ δέ ἐστιν ἅπαξ λεγόμενα παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ—scholium on *Il.* 3.54). According to some calculations approximately one in three words in our Homeric lexicon is an Homeric *hapax legomenon*; i.e., it occurs only once in our inherited texts of Homer. Many of these are common words, of course, that just happen to be attested only once in the texts that were fortunate enough to survive: they are found frequently in later Greek literature and must have been well understood also in the earlier Greek vernacular. So more indicative of the difficulties involved in Homeric lexicography is the calculation that 303 words in the *Iliad* and 191 words in the *Odyssey*—roughly one of every eighteen words in our Homeric lexicon—are absolute *hapax legomena*: they occur once in Homer and never again in all of Greek literature. Someone fingering through a basic Homeric dictionary, such as that of Georg Autenrieth, can therefore expect to confront an absolute *hapax legomenon* at least once on every page.[6] On a related note, let me add as a second measure of the difficulty involved the very high number (roughly 1400) of proper names in Homer—toponyms, ethnics, personal names, etc.—about half of which are *hapax legomena*. Many of these toponyms have never been located, many of these ethnics remain utterly mysterious, and many of these personal names occur in variant forms. Most proper names in Homer simply make no etymological sense in Greek, and one justly suspects that many are of non-Greek origin.

I wish to propose here an approach to deciphering some of these words that may require a measure of toil incommensurate with the amount of fruit it is likely to produce. But after 2500 years of scholarly cultivation, even a little new fruit is to be harvested with great joy; if this approach were to yield a few dozen palatable etymologies for words

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[6] M.M. Kumpf (1984) 206 counts a total of 2692 Homeric hapaxes and 494 absolute hapaxes. These numbers can be reduced to 2037 and 353 if proper names are excluded. The total number of words in the Homeric lexicon is based on the c. 9000 entries in Autenrieth's Homeric dictionary. Of these c. 1400 are proper names. The ratio of Homeric hapaxes to total words if proper names are excluded would be closer to one in four; the ratio of absolute hapaxes to total words would be roughly one in twenty-two. On *hapax legomena* in Homer generally, see S. Reece (2010a).

and phrases that have eluded the world's best scholars for over two millennia, it would seem like a bountiful harvest indeed. We would, in any case, be following Hesiod's sound advice to the farmer in his *Works and Days* 361–62:

> εἰ γάρ κεν καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπὶ σμικρῷ καταθεῖο
> καὶ θαμὰ τοῦτ' ἔρδοις, τάχα κεν μέγα καὶ τὸ γένοιτο
>
> If you will add one small thing to another small thing,
> and do this frequently, soon it will become something great.

What is more, this study has the potential to shed new light not on just individual words and phrases but on the entire process, complex and obscure though it be, whereby an oral tradition becomes a written text. This process is not unique to the Homeric epics; it is a feature of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, of most of the great national European epics, and of a number of African, Asian, and Native American epic and story-telling traditions. The world's oral traditions have become a fertile field of comparative study in the past generation; this study provides a unique perspective, and some tangible and concrete material, for this comparative study.

The approach that I propose finds its inspiration primarily in Milman Parry's 'oral-formulaic theory,' the theory that the Homeric epics were orally composed and then orally transmitted for many years, even generations, before they were recorded as texts in roughly the form that we know them today.[7] It draws inspiration secondarily from Manu Leumann's remarkable thesis that Homeric diction itself, by giving rise in the course of transmission to new linguistically peculiar forms, begets more Homeric diction.[8] I propose that during the period of oral transmission acoustic uncertainties, especially regarding word boundaries, were continually occurring, just as they occur to this day in everyday speech: a bard uttered one collocation of words, but his audience—which often, no doubt, included an aspiring bard—thought it heard another. The tendency of a hearer to reanalyze or resegment the words and phrases of a speaker wields a detectable influence on the historical development of the lexicon of many languages, and I suggest that it is the cause of some of the etymologically inexplicable words

[7] M. Parry's works are collected in A. Parry (ed.) (1971), hereafter *MHV*.
[8] M. Leumann (1950).

and phrases that we find in our Homeric texts.[9] A bard's articulation of the phrase ὣς τότ' ἐφολκὸς ἐήν 'thus, then, was he dragging (his foot),' for example, may have been misunderstood by his audience as ὣς τότε φολκὸς ἐήν, whence arose the strange epithet φολκός, a *hapax legomenon* in all of Greek, used of Thersites in Book 2 of the *Iliad*; in like fashion the formulaic phrase κατ' ἄκρηθεν 'down from the height' appears to have been reanalyzed as κατὰ κρῆθεν 'down from the head'; similarly the formula κατά σποδελὸν λειμῶνα 'throughout the ash-filled meadow' appears to have been the source of κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, the common description of the 'asphodel' meadow of Hades.

After all, humans do not normally speak and hear, much less think, in units as small as words, but rather in collocations of words: phrases, clauses, sentences, and even larger units. We hear a stream of syllables, and a rather high level of interpretation is needed to construe how the speaker intends them to be understood. Especially in oral discourse, be it simple conversation or poetic performance, the boundaries of individual words—so clearly demarcated in written texts by the white spaces between dark fonts—are obscure, and the listener must often select from among a number of possible interpretations. This phenomenon is well illustrated graphically by a waveform or spectrogram of the human voice, in which clear markers at word boundaries are

[9] I am unaware of any systematic study of this phenomenon, though M. Leumann's (1950) observations come closest. Leumann discusses at some length about seventy peculiar Homeric words, some of which appear to have arisen because of a lack of certainty regarding word joins (*Wortfugenprobleme*)—whether by writing scribes, reciting rhapsodes, or singing bards, Leumann seldom makes clear. Leumann's monograph was generally well received, but while it was reviewed in twenty-one different journals, most reviewers simply offered bland descriptions and summaries. Some dismissed the underlying thesis and took issue with one or more of the individual words treated by Leumann. Few addressed, much less analyzed in any systematic way, the really very remarkable thesis of this work—that Homeric diction begets Homeric diction. Today we see regular obeisance paid to Leumann in the Homeric commentaries and lexica, or in an occasional article in such journals as *Philologus* or *Glotta*. The monograph is well indexed for the period, and so it is easy to do this. But apparently very few have thoroughly absorbed the underlying thrust of this book, perhaps because Leumann's ingenuity and audaciousness often led to eccentricities that are embarrassingly conspicuous (and it is easy to pass off the entire work on this basis); or perhaps it is the general analytic underpinnings of his work—Leumann's confidence in asserting plurality of authorship, his attempts at reckoning the relative ages of various parts of the *Iliad*, his insistence on isolating *exemplum* and *imitatio*—that in the light of oral-formulaic theory are no longer defensible. It is somewhat puzzling—as C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 100 and A. Hoekstra (1965) 9 point out—that as late as 1950 someone could publish a monograph dealing with modification of epic phrases without taking Milman Parry's results into account.

often completely absent, and, in fact, perceptible breaks in the signal are often more marked after consonantal stops within words than at the junctures between words (see Illustration I).

This is frequently the experience of a child, or of a non-native speaker, listening in on a conversation. From the continuous stream of sound a familiar word is sometimes recognized. But just as often, perhaps, what seems to be a word was not so intended by the speaker at all. My eight-year-old son once asked me: "Dad, what are 'neyes'?" "Neyes?" I responded, perplexed. "Yes," he insisted, "you were singing 'my neyes have seen the glory.'" Left uncorrected, my son might then have asked his five-year-old sister: "Have your neyes seen the glory too?" And but for the pressure of parents and teachers, dictionaries and academic handbooks, and generic newscasters on CNN to conform to standardized usage, a new word might have been born—a new addition to the lexicon of our English language: 'neyes.' As I was to learn later, the word 'neye' did enjoy a short life in Middle English: 'myn eye' was resegmented as 'my neye,' which was then extended to 'her neye,' etc. And although 'neye' eventually reverted back to its etymologically proper form 'eye,' it did so only after leaving a vestige of its brief existence in such neologisms as 'pigsney,' 'pinkeny,' and 'bird's nie,' and, possibly, in the expression 'to the nines' (from ME 'to then eyne').[10]

Anyone who has spent time with children has a favorite example or two of similar acoustic resegmentations; during some stages of childhood they are almost daily occurrences. They often occur when a child is required to sing or recite an old hymn, a traditional liturgy, or a formal pledge that contains diction beyond the level of the child's working vocabulary. As a child my brother used to wonder why as a regular part of the church service we prayed that God would 'Lead a snot into temptation.' 'Gladly, the cross-eyed bear,' has become a mascot of sorts among the children in those churches that still sing the old gospel hymn "Gladly the Cross I'd Bear." And imagine the consternation of the children, and even of some adults, when at the close of a wedding ceremony a Lutheran pastor was thought to proclaim, "Those whom God has joined together let no one put us under." Such resegmentations

[10] The phenomenon of segmentation of continuous speech into words by children and non-native speakers has been a dynamic field of study recently in psycholinguistics. For a representative example of children's strategies, see C. Chaney (1989); for a representative example of non-native strategies, see B. Dejean de la Bâtie and D.C. Bradley (1995). For a more comprehensive theoretical study of the units of utterance in language recognition and acquisition, see A.M. Peters (1983).

occur in more colloquial speech as well: "Behave!" I once reminded my daughter; to which she responded, "But I am being have." "Be alert!" the bumper sticker advises, "The world needs more lerts." "I scream, you scream, we all scream for ice-cream," runs the pun.[11]

C.S. Lewis, who was a trained linguist as well as a skillful storyteller, used acoustic resegmentations to good effect in his children's tales. In *The Magician's Nephew*, when the lion Aslan cautions the creatures of Narnia that 'An Evil' has entered their world, the creatures reply with consternation, "A Neevil? What's a Neevil?" In a memorable scene in *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, the faun Mr. Tumnus, who has not studied geography as well as he should, thinks that Lucy has come from the far-off city of 'War Drobe' in the land of 'Spare Oom.'[12] Lewis Carroll, who likewise was a philosopher and linguist as well as an entertaining storyteller, toyed cleverly with the possible effects of acoustic resegmentation in his account of Humpty Dumpty's interpretation of the poem Jabberwocky: "Twas brillig, and the slithy toves || Did gyre and gimble in the wabe: || All mimsy were the borogroves, || And the mome raths outgrabe." Humpty Dumpty explains 'wabe' as something that "goes a long *way be*fore it, and a long *way be*hind it"; to which Alice adds that it goes "a long *way be*yond it on each side." Similarly, he explains 'mome' as "short for 'fro*m home*'—meaning that they'd lost their way."[13]

When and how does a child learn to segment a continuous stream of spoken language correctly into individual words? Though there is some evidence that infants are already sensitive to word boundaries at a very early stage—at three days,[14] at nine months,[15] at eleven months[16]—the

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[11] I have collected in Appendix II a number of colloquial resegmentations that I have come across in puns and jokes, commercials and advertisements, and liturgies and song lyrics—the last being a variety of resegmentation popularly known as a 'mondegreen.'

[12] C.S. Lewis (1955) 119–120; (1950) 11.

[13] L. Carroll (1871) Chapter VI.

[14] So A. Christophe, et al. (1994), who suggest that three-day-old infants are already sensitive to pre-lexical cues (e.g., accent) that correlate with word boundaries.

[15] So A.D. Friederici and J.M.I. Wessels (1993), who present some evidence that by nine months infants are sensitive to language specific phonotactic features that signal word boundaries; they are aware, for example, that the consonant cluster 'str' can begin but not end a word. See further P.W. Jusczyk and R.N. Aslin (1995) and J.R. Saffran, et al. (1996), who observe this capacity in infants a month or so earlier in their linguistic development. Also S.L. Mattys, et al. (1999), who observe that nine-month old infants rely more heavily on prosodic than phonotactic cues for word segmentation.

[16] So J. Myers, et al. (1996), who marshal considerable evidence that by eleven months infants perceive word divisions by using non-lexical cues: word stress, allophonic

years from age 4 1/2 to 6 1/2 appear to be the period of most vigorous development of word segmentation skills. Cues to word boundaries include: silence, vowel length, voicing, aspiration, frication, glottal stopping, and implosion. But when these cues are weak or absent, content and lexical familiarity serve more prominently to indicate boundaries.[17] This age period (4 1/2 to 6 1/2) corresponds, of course, to the time when most children begin to read and become familiar with the technology of the written text. Children begin to think more analytically about words—metalinguistically, if you will—when they are able to distinguish dark words of text separated by white spaces on a printed page.[18]

As in the early stages of a child's speech, such acoustic resegmentations are more likely to occur in the primarily oral stages of a language's pre-history than in a highly literate and textual culture, partly because the concept of a word, and that word's integrity, is not a part of the consciousness of an oral culture. In their field work among the *guslari*, the traditional oral singers of Yugoslavia, for example, Milman Parry and Albert Lord discovered that these singers thought in terms of sound groups, not individual words; the two do not necessarily coincide. Only after a Serbian or Croatian *guslar* had seen a printed copy of his

cues (e.g., aspiration or non-aspiration after open juncture /+/), phonotactics (e.g., constraints on certain sound combinations); by this stage there is also some degree of lexical familiarity.

[17] So S. DeMarco and R.M. Harrell (1995). Adults, of course, use the same types of cues as children to detect word juncture, though they perhaps place different degrees of weight on these cues. And there remains some debate over whether qualitative features of speech (e.g., glottalization, laryngealization, aspiration, voicing, and allophonic variation) or quantitative features (e.g., duration, amplitude, intensity, stress accent, rate of change) are the stronger cues for identification of juncture. In favor of qualitative features are I. Lehiste (1960) and L.H. Nakatani and K.D. Dukes (1977). In favor of quantitative features are I. Lehiste (1972), H. Quene (1992), and A. Cutler and S. Butterfield (1990, 1992), who note that 'strong' syllables (those with a stress accent and a full vowel) are particularly good cues for word boundary in English, since the majority of words in English (73%) have an initial 'strong' syllable. In any case, it seems clear that along with one's greater familiarity and experience with language and text comes a greater reliance on contextual and lexical cues. Morphology, syntax, and semantics, as well as social context and register, also play a part in decisions regarding word-segmentation, as studies of both oral and aural errors have shown: on oral errors, see G.S. Dell (1995); on aural errors, see M. Celce-Murcia (1980), C.P. Browman (1980), and S. Garnes and Z.S. Bond (1980).

[18] So M.H. Holden and W.H. MacGinitie (1972); G. McNinch (1974); I.Y. Liberman (1974); I. Papandropoulou and H. Sinclair (1974); L.C. Ehri (1975); E.B. Ryan (1977); S. Templeton and E. Spivey (1980); W.E. Tunmer (1983); M.D. Horne (1983); D.B. Yaden and S. Templeton (1986) 41–62; C. Chaney (1989); G.J. Whitehurst and C.J. Lonigan (1998).

dictated song on a sheet of paper, with the individual words set apart by the white space between them, could he understand what Parry and Lord meant by the term 'word.'[19] Analogous circumstances have been documented in the ethnographic studies of myriad anthropologists.[20]

Moreover, in an oral culture—whether that culture be 8th century B.C. Greece or 20th century A.D. Yugoslavia, or any oral culture, for that matter, that lacks the standardization of language that stems from dictionaries and grammars, newspapers and televisions, and the like—when the words of a phrase were misunderstood and resegmented, they were likely to remain uncorrected, hence generalized and incorporated into the language's lexicon. Sometimes the new resegmented word had a short life and disappeared, sometimes it survived side by side with its progenitor for a while and then acquired a specialized meaning, and sometimes it replaced its progenitor altogether.[21]

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[19] A.B. Lord (1960) 25, 99–123. Witness the tendency of the *guslar* Mujo Kukuruzović, when pressed to identify a single *reč* 'word' in a transcript of his own song, to respond with an entire metrical verse rather than a single typographic word (Parry Collection conversation *6619*, translated by J.M. Foley in [1990] 49 and in *New Companion* 152): the *guslar* quotes an entire decasyllabic verse and declares, "In writing it can't be one *reč*, but let's say we're at my house, and I pick up the *gusle*—that's a single *reč* on the *gusle* for me." For a report of a similar conversation with a different *guslar*, Ibrahim Bašić, cf. J.M. Foley (1990) 44. And for a third conversation along similar lines with the *guslar* Salko Morić (Parry Collection conversation *6612*), cf. J.M. Foley (1999) 68–69. For the *guslari*, the *reči* 'words' of their songs are not printed lexical units divided by empty space on a page of text. This surely holds true for most of the world's oral traditional poets.

[20] For example, in his ethnographic study of the Trobrianders, native islanders of Melanesia, during the first decades of the 20th century, Bronislaw Malinowski laments the difficulty of defining and translating a single native word. He advises that what is meaningful to the native is not the isolated word, or even the full sentence, but rather the full utterance within its own context. Isolated words are a product of advanced linguistic analysis, figments residing in the imagination of the anthropologist. See B. Malinowski (1935) 11–22.

[21] I wish to thank Professor Timothy Johnson for inviting me to share some of the ideas offered in this chapter and next at a conference at Baylor University titled "The Epic Journey: New Directions in Homeric Interpretation," and then seeing the proceedings of that conference to publication in the journal *Classical World* (see S. Reece [1999]). Further thanks are due to Professor Oivind Andersen and the lively participants of the Norwegian Institute at Athens, who invited me to share my preliminary findings at their annual meeting in Athens in 1999.

CHAPTER TWO

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

> *Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,*
> *prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit aetas,*
> *et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.*
>
> Just as the leaves of the forest change with the passing years,
> and the earliest fall off first, so the old generation of words perishes,
> and those newly born flourish and grow strong in the manner of young men.
>
> (Horace's *Ars Poetica* 60–62)

> The derivation of words is like that of rivers—there is one real source, usually small, unlikely, and difficult to find, far up among the hills; then, as the word flows on and comes into service, it takes in the force of other words from other sources, and becomes itself quite another word after the junction—a word, as it were, of many waters, sometimes both sweet and bitter.
>
> (John Ruskin's *Munera Pulveris*, Appendix VI)

> Nuncle Lear, nuncle Lear, tarry and take the fool with thee.
>
> (William Shakespeare's *King Lear* I.iv.339)

Before the increased standardization of the English language in the modern period, many new words entered its lexicon in exactly the way just described.[1] A 15th century English cook may once have said something like: "Ah, I found this ewt and this nadder in my napron while baking numble-pie." A few generations later the cook's descendent would have said: "Ah, I found this newt and this adder in my apron while baking (h)umble-pie." Over the course of time these words were misheard and resegmented: *ewt* became *newt*, *nadder* became *adder*, *napron* became *apron*, *numble-pie* became (*h*)*umble pie*. The force behind these particular resegmentations, and by far the most powerful force behind any

[1] For fuller treatments of the following examples, see the pertinent entries in the second edition of *The Oxford English Dictionary* (J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner [edd.] [1989]). The electronic forms of this work, both the compact disk and web versions, have been exceptionally efficient tools in identifying examples of resegmentation in the English language.

such resegmentations in the English language, was the 'movable-n' of the indefinite article *a*(*n*), of the possessive pronouns *my*(*n*) and *thy*(*n*), and of the old dative case of the definite article *the*(*n*). The biforms *no*/*none*, the prepositions *in* and *on*, the conditional conjunction *an* 'even,' the shortened form '*n* 'and,' and the inflectional endings in -*n* may also have played a part.[2] Through the process of prothesis, in which the sound at the end of a word is transferred to the beginning of the word following, or conversely aphaeresis, in which the sound at the beginning of a word is transferred to the end of the word preceding, old words were resegmented and new words formed. So through prothesis *an ewt* became *a newt*. Conversely through aphaeresis *a nadder* became *an adder, a napron* became *an apron*, and *a numble-pie* became *an* (*h*)*umble-pie*. Many other words in the English language owe their existence to just this type of resegmentation: e.g., *nickname, ninny, namby-pamby, nidiot/nidget, nonce-word, nother, and notch through prothesis of n; auger, umpire, orange, eyas, atomy, emony, ouch*, and *aitch-bone*, through aphaeresis of *n*.

Resegmentation of words in the process of human communication has spawned new entries in the English lexicon that in some cases have enjoyed wide acceptance; so much so that a technical term 'metanalysis' was coined at the end of the 19th century by the influential linguist Otto Jespersen to describe this peculiar but fairly widespread linguistic phenomenon.[3] The compound 'junctural metanalysis' was coined by Louis Marck in the 1960's to specify the resegmentation

[2] One of the earliest, most thorough, and most well categorized treatments of this linguistic phenomenon in the English language comes from a Classicist, Charles P.G. Scott (1892, 1893, 1894), in a series of three long articles titled "English Words which hav Gaind or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction." Scott means by 'attraction' an apparently accidental or unintentional transfer of a final consonant of a word to the beginning of the following word, or of an initial consonant to the end of the preceding word (i.e., precisely what I have been calling 'resegmentation' and will shortly be referring to as 'junctural metanalysis'). The fact that a Classicist, in an exhaustive series of articles published in the official arm of America's Classical Association, does not mention a single example of this linguistic phenomenon in Ancient Greek is an indication of the need for the present study.

[3] The term 'metanalysis' was first applied loosely to this phenomenon by O. Jespersen (1894) in a *Festschrift* for Vilhelm Thomsen. Later, in (1914) section 6.61, he explained: "I have ventured to coin the word 'metanalysis' for the phenomenon frequent in all languages that words or word groups are by a new generation analyzed differently from the analysis of a former age." A fuller description, with several illustrative examples, can be found in (1922) 173, where he attributes metanalysis especially to the period of language acquisition in childhood.

that occurs at the juncture of word boundaries.[4] Neither term in its philological sense can be said to have gained much favor in the English vernacular. 'Metanalysis' appears only in the largest, unabridged dictionaries (Oxford, Webster, Fowler's); there is no entry, for example, in Randomhouse, American Heritage, Chambers, Larouse, and Funk and Wagnall. It is used sparingly, and even then with various meanings, in linguistic periodicals and handbooks. And now its cooption by specialists in the fields of neurobiology and genetics threatens to spell its death-knell for philologists. Nonetheless, in spite of its deficiencies—and with apologies for reintroducing what will be regarded by many as jargonesque—I wish to resurrect this term to describe the linguistic phenomenon under consideration in this study. There are numerous synonymous or near-synonymous terms—prothesis/aphaeresis, agglutination/deglutination, misdivision, misanalysis, reanalysis, resegmentation, affix-clipping, etc. (see Appendix III)—but I find 'junctural metanalysis' to be the most descriptive and precise.

Junctural metanalysis has occurred in the English language in phonetic environments other than after movable-n: e.g., in words that have an initial unaccented short vowel that is apt to be confounded with the indefinite article (*acute* > *cute, amok* > *muck, arrear* > *rear*);[5] in words that follow words ending in an 's' sound (*let's lope* > *let's slope, false pile* > *false spile, horse-courser* > *horse-scorser* > *scorse*); in words that follow words ending in a 't' sound (*Saint Audry's lace* > *tawdry lace* > *tawdry, Saint Anthony* > *Tantony pig, Saint Olave Street* > *St. Oley Street* > *Stooley Street* > *Tooley Street, that other* > *the tother*); in words that follow the Middle English pronoun 'ich' (*ich am* > *cham, ich have* > *chave, ich will* > *chill*);[6] in words that follow the pronoun 'it' (*it is* > *'tis, it was* > *'twas, it were* > *'twere, it will* > *'twill, it would* > *'twould*); in words that have an initial 'h' following the definite article (*the hydropsy* > *the dropsy, the hospital* > *the spital, the hyperbole* > *the*

[4] The compound 'junctural metanalysis' and its two sub-categories 'additive junctural metanalysis' and 'subtractive junctural metanalysis' were coined by L. Marck (1967) in his unpublished doctoral dissertation titled 'Metanalysis.'

[5] Cf. *another* > *nother, alone* > *lone, adobe* > *dobe, affray* > *fray, arraiment* > *raiment, asaumple* (from Latin *exemplum*) > *sample, assize* > *size, appeal* > *peal, amend* > *mend, appeach* > *peach, acate* > *cate, alembic* > *limbeck, apprentice* > *prentice, attire* > *tire, amaze* > *maze, Egyptian* > *Gyptian* > *Gypsy*; cf. the expression *to drink carouse* 'to drink all out (adverb),' which was metanalyzed as *to drink a rouse*, with *rouse* understood as a noun meaning 'a draught of liquor.'

[6] Cf. *ich had* > *chad, ich hard* > *chard, ich would* > *chould, ich wot* > *chote, ich warrant* > *chwarnt, ich was* > *chwas, ich ween* > *chween.*

perbole);[7] and, for various idiosyncratic reasons, in many other phonetic combinations (*without forth* > *with outforth, North Thriding* > *North Riding, God rot*! > *Drat*! *God's wounds*! > *Zounds*!).[8]

And such junctural metanalyses have occurred in many languages other than English. They are especially common in the Romance languages because of the pervasiveness of so called 'agglutination' and 'deglutination' of definite and indefinite articles, as well as possessive pronouns, ending in 'a' or 'n': e.g., French *l' andier* > *landier* 'andiron,' *lonce* > *l' once* 'lynx';[9] Italian *l' astrico* > *lastrico* 'pavement,' *l' aguglia*

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[7] Cf. *thwitel* (cf. Old English *thwitan* meaning to cut) > *whittle* via *th' witel*.

[8] C.P.G. Scott (1892, 1893, 1894) enumerates 680 examples of such 'attraction' in the English language (and he claims to have collected three times as many), suffered by nearly every English consonant ('n,' 't,' 'd,' and 's' suffering the most frequently because they are often found at the ends of words). Most of the 'attracted' forms that Scott enumerates, however, enjoyed but a short life during the phonetically unstable period of Middle English; very few outlasted the standardization of the language to survive as legitimate words in Modern English. Other substantial treatments of this phenomenon in the English language include:

A.S. Palmer (1882) includes a chapter on words corrupted by coalescence of the article (i.e., 'a' and 'the') with the substantive (568–591). He lists 232 such words beginning with every letter of the alphabet except 'j,' 'x,' 'y,' and 'z.' Most of these survive only in Middle English manuscripts (e.g., *a noke*) and have since reverted to their proper forms, but some have become standardized in English in their corrupt forms: e.g., *auger, apron, adder, fray, gypsy, lone-lonely-lonesome, much, newt, nickname, nonce, nugget, ought, raiment, sample, size, spree, umpire, venture, vantage, whittle*.

E. Weekley (1912) includes a chapter titled "Phonetic Accidents" (49–65) in which he treats—along with dissimilation, assimilation and metathesis—the occurrence of aphesis of an initial 'a,' helped along by confusion about the indefinite article. He lists *anatomy* > *atomy, appeal* > *peal, amend* > *mend, alone* > *lone, appeach* > *peach, assize* > *size, acate* > *cate, alembic* > *limbeck, apprentice* > *prentice, attire* > *tire, amaze* > *maze, habitacle* > *bittacle, alluminour* > *luminour*. Weekly treats briefly (104–107) the related phenomenon of a word either losing or gaining a 'n' from confusion about a preceding indefinite article; to this confusion he attributes: *adder, auger, apron, aitchbone, humble pie, umpire, eyas, newt, nickname*, and *nuncle*. To confusion about a dative case of a preceding definite article he attributes: *nonce* (*for then ones*), and the family names *Nash* (*atten ash*) and *Nokes* (*atten oakes*).

[9] Cf. *l' ierre* > *lierre* 'ivy'; *l' uette* > *luette 'uvula'; l' oriot* > *loriot* 'oriole'; *l' endit* > *lendit* 'notification'; *l' ambre* > *lambre* 'amber'; *l' heurette* > *lurette* 'time'; *l' en demain* > *lendemain* 'tomorrow'; *la manati* > *lamantin* 'manatee'; *l' Anglois* > *Langlois* (proper name 'English'); *l' huissier* > *Lhuissier* (proper name 'Usher'); *l' éveque* > *Leveque* (proper name 'Bishop'); *L' Isle* > *Lille* (toponym 'Island'); *lingot* > *l' ingot* 'ingot'; *launcelle* > *l' auncelle* 'balance'; *la bée* > *l' abée* 'water channel'; *la munition* > *l' amunition* 'ammunition'; *l' agriotte* > *la griotte* 'cherry'; *l' aboutique* > *la boutique* 'shop'; *l' Apouille* > *la Pouille* (toponym 'Apulia'); *l' Aquitania* > *la Quitania* (toponym 'Guyenne'); *un ombril* > *nombril* 'navel'; *une narange* > *orange*; *t' ante* > *tante* 'aunt'; *mon ante* > *nante* 'aunt'; *m' amie* > *ma mie* 'friend.' See the pertinent entries in *Trésor de la langue française* (P. Imbs [ed.] [1971–1994]) and in the fifth edition of *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (O. Bloch and W. von Wartburg [edd.] [1968]).

> *la guglia* 'needle';[10] Spanish *el lagarto* > *alagarto* 'alligator,' *l' abodega* > *la bodega* 'store';[11] and in various pidgins and creoles that develop at the intersection of larger language groups, such as French *les hommes* > Haitian *lèzòm* 'mankind,' Spanish *el-onso* > Judezmo *lonso* 'bear.'[12] Moreover, metanalysis is much more apt to occur in languages that do not have a great regard phonetically for word boundaries, i.e., in those whose articulation is characterized by 'close' (no /+/) rather than 'open' (/+/) juncture. This is the prevailing 'junctural situation' in the Romance languages, and it has opened the door to many metanalyses throughout the histories of these languages. In Spanish, for example, which has retained the close juncture, *tienes alas* 'you have wings' and *tiene salas* 'it has rooms' are phonetically indistinguishable in ordinary speech.[13] Likewise in French *les zones* 'the zones' and *les aulnes* 'the alders' are phonetically indistinguishable, and *il est tout vert* 'it is all green' is the phonetic equivalent of *il est ouvert* 'it is open.'[14] That the process of metanalysis in the Romance languages began to occur as far back as the prehistoric period is indicated by several examples in early Latin of metanalysis of negated indefinite adverbs and conjunctions beginning in *q^wu-: *ne-q^wubi* > *nec-ubi* > *ubi* 'where'; *ne-q^wunde* >

[10] Cf. *all' arme* > *allarme* 'alarm'; *lusignuolo* > *l' usignuolo* 'nightingale'; *lavello* > *l' avello* 'basin'; *l' amarasca* > *la marasca* 'cherry'; *l' abbadia* > *la badia* 'abbey'; *l' Apulia* > *la Puglia* (toponym 'Apulia'); *lacunetta* > *la cunetta* 'gutter'; *un aspo* > *naspo* 'reel'; *un abisso* > *nabisso* 'abyss'; *un inferno* > *ninferno* 'hell'; *una narancia* > *arancia* 'orange'; *ombelico* > *un bellico* 'navel.' See the pertinent entries in *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* (M. Cortelazzo [ed.] [1979–1988]).

[11] Cf. *la reata* > *lariat* 'lariat'; *la ñapa* > *lagniappe* 'gratuity'; *el dorado* > *Eldorado* (toponym 'the Gilded'); *l' almosna* > *la limosna* 'alms'; *l' anatomia* > *la notomia* 'skeleton'; *l' apostema* > *la postema* 'abscess.' See the pertinent entries in *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (J. Corominas [ed.] [1980–1991]). On a related matter, many loan words from Arabic into the western European languages, including English, suffered an agglutination in Spanish of the Arabic definite article *al*: cf. Arabic *al-jebr* 'the reunion' > Spanish *algebra*, Arabic *al-qobbah* 'the vault' > Spanish *alcova*. Hence English *alchemy, alcohol, almanac, alfalfa, albacore*, etc. Many of these agglutinations have become somewhat 'disguised' by subsequent alterations: *apricot, artichoke, amalgam*, etc. Curiously, this type of agglutination occurs only once within Arabic itself, in the divine name *Allah*, from *al-ilāh* 'the god.' See further E. Partridge (1952) 103–128.

[12] Cf. French *les yeux* 'the eyes' > Haitian *zié* 'eye,' French *les anges* 'the angels' > Haitian *zanj* 'angel,' French *un homme* 'a man' > Haitian *nonm* 'adult male'; Portuguese *as ondas* 'the waves' > São Tomé *zonda* 'wave,' Portuguese *as ancas* 'the buttocks' (or perhaps Spanish *las ancas*) > Papiamentu *sanka* 'buttocks.' On morpheme boundary changes in pidgins and creoles, see J.A. Holm (1988) 97; M. Southern (2001) 242.

[13] See J.W. Harris (1982).

[14] See B. Wenck and F. Wioland (1982).

nec-unde > *unde* 'whence'; **ne-q^w^ut* > *nec-ut* > *ut* 'so that'; etc.[15] That the phonetic environment that fostered these metanalyses still prevails can be observed in the many playful modern 'holorimes,' such as the one attributed to the 19th century French writer Marc Monnier, whose two verses, in spite of their virtually identical sounds, have utterly different meanings:

> *Gall, amant de la reine, alla (tour magnanime)*
> *galamment de l'arène à la Tour Magne, à Nîmes.*
>
> Gallus, the queen's lover, went (a magnanimous gesture)
> gallantly from the arena to the Great Tower, at Nîmes.

Or another by the 19th century French humorist Alphonse Allais:

> *par les bois du djinn où s'entasse de l'effroi*
>
> by the djinn's woods, where fear abounds
>
> *parle et bois du gin ou cent tasses de lait froid*
>
> talk and drink gin or one-hundred cups of cold milk

The Germanic languages, on the other hand, particularly in the north, having preserved prevocalic open junctures by the use of a glottal stop or laryngealization, have a relatively high regard for word boundary, especially before a stressed syllable: e.g., *'Ich 'esse 'ein 'Ei* (apostrophe = glottal stop) 'I eat an egg.' Consequently, they have yielded many fewer metanalyses than the Romance languages. In Rudolf Meringer's landmark two-volume collection of speaking, hearing, reading, and writing errors in German, for example, there are listed only thirty-one examples of 'slips of the ear,' and of these only two involve the misperception of juncture boundary: *sind dumm* 'are dumb' for *sind um* 'are around/have passed'; and *halbes Huhn* 'half a chicken' for *halbe Stunde* [*studieren*] 'to study half an hour.'[16] The rather unique shift in Modern German of *Nackt-* to *Akt-* in such compounds as *Nacktmodell* > *Aktmodell, Nacktfigur* > *Aktfigur, Nacktstudie* > *Aktstudie*, etc., is probably best

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[15] See *Ernout and Meillet* sub *ubi, unde*, and *ut*; also C.D. Buck (1933) 130 and A.L. Sihler (1995) 399, who refers to this process in early Latin as 'metanalysis' and 'resegmentation.' Perhaps metanalysis during an early period of the Latin language can also explain the innovative *s-* of Latin *sub* 'under' and *super* 'over' (i.e., it results from a prothesis of the terminal *-s* so ubiquitous in the language as a whole).

[16] R. Meringer and K. Mayer (1895, new edition 1978) 158. The second example is not a clean metanalysis, and other factors are at work here as well.

attributed not to metanalysis but to the desire to avoid the perceived obscenity of the adjective *nackt* 'naked.'[17] Yet, there were periods earlier in the history of the Germanic family of languages when the juncture situation was apparently less open, as evidenced by widespread metanalyses in Middle High German and in various dialectal forms: *Ahle* > *Nahle* 'awl,' *Assel* > *Nassel* 'woodlouse,' *Ast* > *Nast* 'branch,' *Örfling* > *Nerfling* 'golden orfe,' *Hesch* > *Nesch* 'swallow,' *Nachen* > *Ache* 'boat,' *Nessel* > *Essel* > *Est* 'nest,' *Natter* > *Otter* 'adder,' *währendes Krieges* 'lasting war' > *während des Krieges* 'during the war' (the participle thus evolving into a preposition governing the genitive case).[18] One may compare Dutch *navegheer* > *avegaar* 'auger,' *nadder* > *adder* 'adder,' *naaf* > *aaf* 'nave,' *de affodil* > *daffodil.*

The junctural situation in the Celtic languages appears to have been similar, as evidenced by a few metanalyses during the earlier periods of their histories: Old and Middle Irish *airne* > *nairne* 'night watch,' *ape* > *napa* 'ape' (a Teutonic loan word), *ena* > *nena* 'meeting place of waters,' *oll* > *noll* 'great,' *nes* > *es* 'weasel,' *núall* > *úall* 'cry,' *núna* > *úna* 'famine,' *Armenia* > *Nairmein* (loan word), *Dún n-Áis* 'Fortress on the Ridge' > *Dún Naís* > *Naas* (a town in Kildare county near Dublin);[19] Welsh *arddwrn* > *garddwrn* 'wrist,' *ordd* > *gordd* 'hammer,' *anafod* > *nafod* 'ulcer';[20] Gaelic *inghean* > *nighean* 'daughter,' *nuimhir* > *uimhir* 'number';[21] Scottish Gaelic *neanntag* > *eanntag* 'nettle,' *neamhain* > *neumhann* > *eumhann* 'pearl';[22] E. Gaelic *ag ràdh* > *a' gràdh* 'saying.'[23]

The Slavic languages too provide a few examples of early metanalysis, though in very limited syntactical situations. Some preposition plus pronoun combinations, as attested in Old Church Slavic, were especially prone to metanalysis of final *-n*: **sŭn + jimĭ* > OCS *sŭ njimĭ* 'with him';

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[17] See W. Manczak (1982) and A. Bammesberger (2005).

[18] See the pertinent entries in *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* 24th edition (F. Kluge [ed.] [2002]). Also L. Marck (1967) 36–42, 142–143.

[19] These examples are drawn from the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (E.G. Quin, et al. [edd.] [1913–1976]).

[20] R.A. Fowkes (1972) lists 41 examples of additive metanalysis and 40 examples of subtractive metanalysis in Welsh.

[21] R.A. Fowkes (1972) lists 5 examples of metanalysis in Gaelic in an addendum to his survey of metanalysis in Welsh.

[22] R. Orr (1987) 309 cites these examples of metanalysis as analogues to the Slavic examples that are his primary concern.

[23] G. MacLennan (1963) attributes this 'wrong division' to unlettered Eastern Gaelic communities of the 13th–15th centuries.

**vŭn + jemĭ* > OCS *vŭ njemĭ* 'in him/it'; **kŭn + jemu* > OCS *kĭ njemu* 'to him/it.' The initial *n-* of the pronouns then became regularized when governed by preceding prepositions, even ones that did not end in *-n*, and thereby these reformulated pronouns took on a life outside the phonological environments that created them.[24]

Modern English has, like Modern German, tended more toward open juncture: e.g., in carefully spoke Modern English 'an ocean' is phonetically distinguishable from 'a notion,' 'an aim' from 'a name.'[25] But these comparisons with related languages cast some light on what must have been the junctural situation in Middle English, where, owing to the absence of an open juncture phoneme (i.e., /+/), such formations as 'a noke' for 'an oak' and 'my nuncle' for 'mine uncle' are ubiquitous.

Now, what ramifications does this have for our study of early Greek epic diction? To anticipate, there is no indication that there ever existed in Ancient Greek, as there does in Modern German or English, a glottalization or laryngealization of words that began with a vowel. The junctural situation in Ancient Greek appears to have been rather closer to that of Middle English and Romance in this respect, as evidenced by its system of syllabification, which poses frequent conflict between the division of syllables and of words that begin with a vowel: e.g., ἀναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς is syllabified α / να / λα / βω / με / νου / νεκ / σαρ / χης. This is evidenced as well by its tendency to resolve the problem of the juxtaposition of two vowel sounds between words through such euphonic devices as crasis (ἐγὼ οἶδα > ἐγῷδα), elision (ὑπὸ αὐτῶν > ὑπ' αὐτῶν), prodelision (ἢ ἐμέ > ἢ 'μέ), or the insertion of a movable consonant (sigma, kappa, and nu). The ancients themselves bear witness that ἔστιν ἄξιος 'he's worthy' was phonetically indistinguishable from ἔστι Νάξιος 'he's a Naxian,' and ἔστι νοῦς 'it's a mind' was phonetically indistinguishable from ἔστιν οὖς 'it's an ear.'[26]

[24] On nu-mobile in Slavic, see R. Orr (1987), and on nu-mobile as a sandhi variant in Slavic from an Indo-European perspective, see W.R. Schmalstieg (1983) 46–48.

[25] See I. Lehiste (1959). Spectrographic experimentation shows that of the modern European languages an open juncture phoneme is most assiduously observed in German, followed closely by English, while it is almost entirely absent in the Romance languages; see P. Delattre (1965) 36–39.

[26] So *Eustathius* on *Il.* 19.42; both examples are drawn ultimately from the ancient grammarian Dionysius Thrax. Such ἀμφιβολίαι 'ambiguities' supplied the material for many delightful puns in the playground of Hellenistic poetry. For example, Matro of Pitane, the 4th c. B.C. parodist, evokes the Homeric phrase δύω κύνες ἀργοὶ ἕποντο 'two swift dogs followed along' (*Od.* 2.11[var.], 17.62, 20.145) in his pun describing the serving of fish at an extravagant banquet δυώδεκα σαργοὶ ἕποντο 'twelve sargues

As we have seen, metanalysis is much more apt to occur under these phonetic circumstances. This is well demonstrated in Medieval and Modern Greek, where the terminal -ν of the definite article has often attached itself to words beginning with a vowel, creating new biforms that have sometimes utterly replaced their earlier counterparts: so τὸν ὦμον > νῶμος 'shoulder'; τὴν οὐράν > νουρά 'tail.'[27] There is no reason to doubt that similar processes were at play in Ancient Greek as well.

I have chosen to pay special attention in this chapter to the situation in Middle English, and specifically to the phonetic environment of movable-n in Middle English, for two reasons: because the English language has been blessed with a long and amply documented history that illuminates the complexity of the phenomenon of metanalysis in a way that is instructive when hypothesizing about the less fully documented Greek language; and because there is a close analogue to movable-n in Ancient Greek—the nu-ephelkystikon—that I believe was a similarly potent facilitator of the metanalysis of old words and of the consequent creation of new ones. An examination of movable-n in Middle English shows us, for example, that metanalyzed words can have various fates:

Very often the metanalysis is an idiosyncrasy that does not survive for long, if at all, outside the phonetic environment that created it (e.g., after movable-n). Instead the metanalyzed form reverts back to its etymologically proper form; if a written record of Middle English had not existed, no trace of the metanalyzed form would have survived in the English language. We find in the texts of the Middle English period, for example, owing to prothesis of the movable-n of the indefinite article, the words *a neilond* for *an eilond* 'island,' *a narawe* for *an arawe* 'arrow,' and *a nappyle* for *an appyle* 'apple.'[28] Owing to prothesis of the movable-n of the possessives we find the words *my nayre* for *myn ayre* 'heir,' *thy narse* for *thyn arse* 'buttocks,' and *thy nawne* for *thyn awne* 'own.' And owing to prothesis of the movable-n of the old dative of the

(sea bream) followed along' (fr. 1.60); on this passage see S.D. Olson and A. Sens (1999) 21, 35, 109. For further examples of ἀμφιβολίαι from antiquity (Aristophanes, Epicharmus, Isocrates, Antisthenes, Theon, Hermogenes), see W.B. Stanford (1939) 5, 43–44 and (1967) 145.

[27] See the respective articles in N.P. Andriotis (1951).

[28] Cf. also *a noke* for *an oke* 'oak,' *a negge* for *an egge* 'egg,' *a nege* for *an ege* 'edge,' *a nox* for *an ox* 'ox,' *a nowne* for *an owne* 'oven,' *a nable* for *an able* 'able,' *a nowyr* for *an owyr* 'hour,' *a nads* for *an ads* 'adze,' *a nyll* for *an ill* 'ill,' *a nanser* for *an anser* 'answer,' *a nynche* for *an inche* 'inch,' *a nykle* for *an ickle* 'icicle.'

definite article we find *at the nend* for *at then end* 'end,' *at the nale* for *at then ale* 'ale,' and *to the neve* for *to then eve* 'evening.' Aphaeresis of 'n' appears to have been much less frequent in these conditions, but it does occur: e.g., *an est* for *a nest* 'nest,' *an urling* for *a* (*k*)*nurling* 'dwarf,' *an eker* for *a niker* 'water-demon,' cf. *withouten umbre* for *withouten number* 'without number.' In any event, none of these neologisms survived, at least not for very long, outside the phonetic environments that created them (in this case after movable-n); they were soon 'corrected' and reverted to their 'proper' forms.[29]

A second category of metanalyzed words, however, for one reason or another, succeeded in escaping the phonetic environment that created it, to survive as a biform, a dialectal form, in a specialized sense (as a slang or familiar word, or as a deliberately archaic or literary expression), or in a fossilized or formulaic phrase. The original, etymologically correct form retained its position, however, as the standard and usual form. The metanalyzed forms *naunt* 'aunt' and *nuncle* 'uncle,' for example, escaped the phonetic environment that had created them (e.g., *thyn aunt and thyn uncle*), to be extended to such expressions as *good naunt and good nuncle* or *old naunt and poor nuncle*. And *naunt* continues to survive in some dialects to this day, while *nunc* and *nunky* still thrive as expressions of familiarity. Likewise, the metanalyzed possessive adjective *nown* 'own' escaped the phonetic environment that had created it (e.g., *myn own, thyn own*), to be extended to such phrases as *his nown*, *her nown*, and *your nown*. It has survived in Scottish in the forms *nain*, *nan*, and *nane*, as well as in the reflexive *nain-sel* 'own self.' Similarly, the metanalyzed word *nonce* 'once' escaped the phonetic environment that had created it (*to/for then anes* 'to/for the one occasion'): the fossilized expression *for the nonce* continues to be used in some dialects, as well as in deliberately archaic or poetic contexts, and the combination *nonce-word* survives as a technical expression. Some words created through metanalysis, then, do survive as biforms of various sorts alongside their etymologically 'legitimate' progenitors (*aunt-naunt, uncle-nuncle, own-nown, once-nonce*),[30] and not only after

[29] Most of the almost 300 examples of 'attraction' involving the sound 'n' enumerated by C.P.G. Scott (1892, 1893, 1894) fall into this category.

[30] Cf. by prothesis of movable-n: *awl* > *nawl, idiot* > *nidgit* (from *nidiot*), *other* > *nother, eye* > *neye, eme/eam* > *neam* 'uncle,' *ingle* > *ningle* 'catamite,' *anger/angry* > *nanger/nangry, aundiren* > *naundiren* 'andiron,' *agnail/angnail* > *nangnail* 'hangnail,' *anbury* > *nanberry* 'wart,' to *then eyne* > *to the nines, owpe* > *nope* 'bullfinch,' *hyghwhele* > *hickle* > *ickle* > *nickle* 'green woodpecker.' And by aphaeresis of movable-n: *nought*

movable-n but in many other phonetic environments as well.[31] In this category should probably be included the common metanalysis of the combination of an endearing possessive *myn/mine* and a proper name beginning with a vowel: *myn Edward* > *Ned, myn Eliza* > *Nell, myn Anne* > *Nan* (Nancy), and *myn Oliver* > *Nol.*

A third category of metanalyzed words had not only the staying power to survive but also the good fortune largely to replace its progenitors. In a marvelous turn of events, the new metanalyzed form became standardized, while the original, etymologically correct form either disappeared altogether, or survived for a while as a biform before becoming marginalized itself as a dialectal form, a fossilized expression, or as specialized or archaic vocabulary. So by prothesis of movable-n: *notch* completely replaced *otch* 'a v-shaped incision,' *newt* replaced *ewt* except in some specialized senses and in some dialectal forms, and *nickname* superseded *ekename*, although the term *eke* survives in such fossilized phrases as *to eke out.*[32] By aphaeresis of movable-n: *umpire* completely replaced *noumpere, ouch* became a biform of *nouch* 'buckle' for awhile, then superseded it altogether before becoming obsolete itself, and *apron* generally replaced *napron*, although *naperon* still survives as a dialectal form, and cognates of *nap* continue to abound (*nap, napkin, napery*, etc.).[33]

> *ought/aught* 'zero,' *newest* > *ewest* 'nearby,' *nettle* > *ettle* 'nettle.' A few of the almost 300 examples of 'attraction' involving the sound 'n' enumerated by C.P.G. Scott (1892, 1893, 1894) fall into this category.

[31] Cf. *acute* > *cute, acolyte* > *colyte, alarum* > *larum* 'alarm,' *Apocalyps* > *Pocalyps, apoplexy* > *poplexy, apostle* > *postle*, *arrearage* > *rearage* 'indebtedness,' *evangel/evangelist* > *vangel/vangelist, hyperbole* > *perbole, hydropsy* > *dropsy, hospital* > *spital, leet* > *releet* 'crossroad,' *trod* > *rod* 'path,' *lope* > *slope* 'run away,' *pile* > *spile* 'beam,' *without forth* > *with outforth*. The so-called 'aphetic' forms in English, which have suffered the loss of an initial unaccented short vowel (e.g., *esquire* > *squire*, *opposum* > *possum*, *acate* > *cate*, *alone* > *lone*, *appeal* > *peal*, *apprentice* > *prentice*), illustrate a separate, but not always unrelated, linguistic phenomenon. I am primarily concerned here with metanalysis that occurs as a result of the influence of a preceding or following word. In some cases perhaps both forces—aphesis and metanalysis—are at work simultaneously, especially when aphesis appears to be attributable to the influence of the indefinite article (e.g., *epitomy* > *pitomie*).

[32] Cf. by prothesis *ninny* replaced *inny* 'innocent' (i.e. 'simpleton'), and *namby-pamby* became a nickname applied to the English poet *Ambrose* Philips (*myn Ambrose* > *myn Amby* > *my Namby*).

[33] Cf. by aphaeresis *auger* replaced *nauger*, *eyas* replaced *nyas* 'young hawk,' *orange* replaced *narang*, (*h*)*umble-pie* replaced *numble-pie, aitch-bone* replaced *nache-bone* 'rump bone,' *atomy* replaced *natomy* 'anatomy,' *emone* replaced *nemone* 'anemone,' and *adder* generally replaced *nadder*, although *nadder* still survives as a dialectal form.

New additions to the English lexicon created by metanalysis in phonetic environments other than after movable-n—e.g., after *-s*, *-t*, *-ch*, or before a short vowel and *h-*—appear to fall into all three categories delineated above: *cute, muck, rear, nother, dobe, fray, Gypsy, lone, raiment, sample, size, peal, mend, peach, cate, limbeck, prentice, tire, maze, slope, spile, scorse, tawdry, Tantony, tother, cham, chave, chill, chad, chard, chould, chote, chwarnt, chwas, chween, tis, twas, twere, twill, twould, dropsy, spital, perbole, whittle, outforth, Riding, Drat*!, *Zounds*!.

The sheer number of examples of metanalyzed forms, as well as the variety of phonetic environments in which they are found, shows that metanalysis is not just a marginal linguistic oddity, not just a negligible case of phonetic blundering, but rather a normal and productive force in the diachronic development of a language's lexicon, comparable to such forces as analogy, assimilation, dissimilation, and back formation. Metanalysis has contributed significantly to the lexicon of the English language, notably to the lexica of the Romance languages, and sporadically to the lexica of several other languages.

As we shall see, this is all very instructive for our examination of early Greek epic diction. In the absence of a pre-Homeric text, we cannot hope to resurrect any metanalyses of the first category: those that spawned idiosyncratic neologisms that were short-lived and quickly reverted to their etymologically proper forms. Even though they surely once existed in early Greek, they have disappeared without a trace. But we can hope to find some examples of metanalysis of the second and third categories, since in Ancient Greek comparable biforms regularly survive alongside each other in different phonetic, metrical, or dialectal environments. In short, on the basis of analogy with the well documented history of Middle English, I wish to venture the hypothesis that metanalysis was a comparably productive mechanism for the creation of new diction in the much more obscure history of Ancient Greek.

CHAPTER THREE

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN HOMERIC GREEK

> Σω. Ὦ μακάριε, οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα τεθέντα κατακέχωσται ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τραγῳδεῖν αὐτά, περιτιθέντων γράμματα καὶ ἐξαιρούντων εὐστομίας ἕνεκα καὶ πανταχῇ στρεφόντων, καὶ ὑπὸ καλλωπισμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ χρόνου.
>
> Socrates: "My good sir, you do not realize that the original words have already been buried in obscurity by those wishing to dress them up, adding and subtracting letters for the sake of euphony and changing them in every way, both by embellishment and by the passing of time."
>
> (Plato's *Cratylus* 414C)

The many phonetic adjustments that occur when words collide in a language so greatly concerned with euphony as ancient Greek ensure that the sounds of individual words in isolation remain subordinate to the totality of the sound of words in combination: e.g., elision (ὅδε εἶπε > ὅδ' εἶπε), prodelision (μὴ ἐνταῦθα > μὴ 'νταῦθα), crasis (καὶ αὐτός > καὐτός), and correption (ἐπειδὴ Ἱκέσιος > ἐπειδὲ Ἱκέσιος) of adjacent vowels; apocope (ἄπο πατέρων > ἄπ πατέρων) of a vowel before a consonant; assimilation (κὰτ πεδίον > κὰπ πεδίον) of adjacent consonants; aspiration (νύκτ[α] ὅλην > νύχθ' ὅλην) of certain consonants before a rough breathing. Even the position and quality of the accent of an individual word can be affected by what precedes and (much more often) by what follows. These phonetic adjustments—what some linguists call 'changes in external combination'—were very pronounced in actual speech, but, while often reflected in the unstandardized spelling of ancient inscriptions, were generally effaced in the standardized written form of later literary texts.[1] Nonetheless, this tendency toward the subordination of individual words in ancient Greek is reflected throughout its textual history in the practice of transcribing without any demarcation of divisions between words. Absence of word division is almost universal in Greek alphabetic writing from its beginnings up to

[1] For an informative survey of what he terms 'sandhi' and 'pause,' see *Schwyzer* I 395–414.

the medieval period, whether in inscriptions on stone, clay, and metal, or in texts on papyrus rolls and parchment codices (see Illustration II). Even on the much earlier Linear B tablets, where word division is normally marked—by a vertical stroke, a dot, or an interspace—enclitics, proclitics, and other monosyllabic words are treated as part of the preceding or following words: e.g., | *da-mo-de-mi* | = δᾶμος δέ μιν.

These phonetic adjustments are most prevalent in the poetic language that evolved during the oral (i.e., pre-textual) stage of the Greek epic tradition, during which time individual words were subordinated to the phonetic and metrical features of the larger formulaic phrases that fill the cola of the dactylic hexameter verse. For example, the general abhorrence in epic Greek of 'hiatus,' a Latin term for the phonetically distasteful juxtaposition of two vowel sounds between words, has spawned the development, or at least assured the maintenance, of several linguistic features that facilitate euphony: movable sigma (e.g., οὕτω[ς]), movable kappa (e.g., οὐ[κ]), and, most commonly, movable nu—so called 'nu-ephelkystikon' (e.g., ἐστί[ν]); pronunciation, though without any later graphic demarcation, of the semivocalic transitional glides /y/ and /w/ between certain vowels (e.g., σκαιῇ [*y*]ἔγχος, ὃ [*w*]ἔγνω); as well as 'epic' correption (e.g., πλάγχθη ἐπεί), crasis (τοὔνεκα), synizesis (εἰλαπίνη ἦε γάμος), and elision (e.g., τὸ πρὶν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐγώ) of adjacent vowels.[2]

Moreover, the basic unit of articulation in the Greek language generally, and all the more in Greek poetry, is not the word but the syllable. Syllabic divisions conflict regularly with word divisions. As we have observed, this conflict is not uncommon in other languages as well, such as the Romance languages, whose articulation at word boundaries is characterized, as in Greek, by 'close' (no /+/) rather than 'open' (/+/) juncture. The junctural situation of the dactylic hexameter, the verse form of Greek epic, which depends on the alternation of long and short syllables, as here in *Il.* 1.3, is notable:

> πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
> πολ/λας/διφ/θι/μους/ψυ/χα/ςΑ/ι/διπ/ρο/ι/απ/σεν

[2] For a concise treatment of Greek vowel-juncture based on the terminology and categories of the ancient grammarians, see W.S. Allen (1968) 90–96. For a more recent treatment, with comparative material and updated terminology and categories, see A.M. Devine and L.D. Stephens (1994) 224–284.

The verse is a continuous stream of sound whose rhythm is determined by syllabic boundaries, such as /διφ/, /ςΑ/, and /διπ/, not by word boundaries.

These are the very features that have made Homeric Greek particularly susceptible to the kind of resegmentation of words—i.e., junctural metanalysis—discussed above. I believe that the true etymologies of many otherwise inexplicable words in Homer may be elicited by considering the possibility that they are the result of junctural metanalysis during an oral stage of transmission; i.e., that a bard intended a particular collocation of sounds to be heard and understood in one way by his audience, whether a single apprentice or a larger group of listeners, but that the audience heard and understood it differently. This phenomenon would have been especially prevalent in a traditional art language, such as Homers, which contains many archaic words and forms as well as many exotic names. A bard's articulation of the phrase εἰς Ἑλλούς, for example, may have been misunderstood by his audience as εἰς Σελλούς (whence arose the strange ethnic Σελλοί to denote the priestly dwellers of Dodona); the formulaic phrase ἤνιν νηκέστην ἱερευσέμεν 'to sacrifice an ungoaded yearling' may have been misunderstood as ἤνιν ἠκέστην ἱερευσέμεν (whence was born the new adjective ἤκεστος); the phrase π(τ)ολέμοιό γ' ἔφυρας 'seigeworks of war' may have been misunderstood as π(τ)ολέμοιο γέφυρας (whence was born a new specialized meaning for the already existing noun γέφυρα 'bridge').

I would like to resurrect here a practice embraced by grammarians and lexicographers from as early as the Alexandrian period of deliberating about the various alternatives with respect to word divisions, and then I would like to reconsider the benefits of this time-honored practice in the light of what has been learned over the past seventy-five years or so about the orality of the composition and performance of ancient Greek epic. The practice arises from the suspicion that word divisions have been misunderstood during the long transmission of the Homeric epics. For the Alexandrians this was a pressing concern, since they were working with texts that were written without any demarcation of word divisions. Many possibilities for word division presented themselves and were the focus of heated debate. But I am not primarily interested here in *textual* misdivisions, which are generally rather easily resolvable and are in any event only interesting within their own narrow contexts; rather, I would like to apply this practice to the *oral* period of transmission, i.e., to the pre-Homeric period. After all, metanalysis of words

is even more apt to occur in an oral culture—in the absence of lexica and grammars and other standardizing forces—than in a culture well acquainted with texts and writing. And once a metanalysis occurs, the metanalyzed word is more apt to remain 'uncorrected' in the less standardized lexicon of an oral culture. And if left 'uncorrected' it is likely that it will eventually escape the phonetic environment that created it and establish itself as a new addition to the idiom of the language.

In what follows I take the general position of a unitarian and oralist with respect to the long and complex genesis and transmission of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a position informed by Milman Parry and Albert Lord's categorization of the Homeric epics as 'traditional, oral poetry,' and by their hypothesis that their earliest stable forms, from which our inherited epics are ultimately derived, were 'oral-dictated' texts, i.e., transcriptions of performances orally delivered by a historical figure and thereafter, except for some surface corruption, relatively fixed in their forms.[3]

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[3] The theory of an oral-dictated text of the Homeric epics can be found in a seminal form already in Milman Parry's unfinished work "Ćor Huso: A Study of Southslavic Song," in *MHV* 451–462, in which M. Parry imagines Homer dictating his song while someone else with writing materials writes it down verse by verse, much as the Serbo-Croatian *guslari* whom he was observing dictated their songs to his assistant Nikola Vujnović. But Parry's theory did not receive a clear and thorough articulation until his student Albert Lord published an article, "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts," (1953), which laid out in a concise form the theory about the genesis of the epics that he later developed in his very influential book *The Singer of Tales*, (1960), esp. 124–138. The question of dictation overlaps with many of the other 'Homeric Questions,' and there has continued to be no lack of debate on this question among Homeric scholars. Strong and up-to-date arguments in favor of an early dictation, hence in favor of a more or less fixed text from an early period, can be found in the recent work of R. Janko (1990), (1998); B.B. Powell (1991) 221–237; C.J. Ruijgh (1995) esp. 25–26; M.W. Haslam in *New Companion* esp. 79–84.

On the other hand, there is a long scholarly tradition of regarding the genesis of our inherited Homeric epics as an evolutionary process rather than a one-time event. Though in many and various incarnations, this notion lay at the foundation of the analytical approach to the genesis of the Homeric epics (e.g., Wolf, Lachmann, Kirchhoff, Wilamowitz, Leaf). Gilbert Murray, in his influential book *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, (1911), esp. 298–325, invoked all the standard evolutionary arguments in his proposal, based on his consideration of variants in ancient quotations of Homer, in the reports of the readings of early manuscripts of Homer, as well as in the later Ptolemaic 'wild' papyri, that the Homeric epics continued to remain in a fluid state through at least the end of the Classical period, not only in matters of words and verses but even in large portions of the story, and that they did not take on their final form until the Hellenistic period, during which time the editors of Homer continued to rewrite passages with the freedom of the old bards. Recent arguments in favor of a more or less fluid form during the early period, and even into the Hellenistic age, include: G.S. Kirk (1960), (1962) esp. 98–101, 301–334, (1970); J.M. Foley (1990) 20–31, (1999) 49–61; and G. Nagy

I imagine the metanalysis of words occurring at several stages of this genesis and transmission:

1) Bardic stage—during the eons of oral performance and aural reception of a vast body of traditional epic verse (i.e., from early in the second millennium B.C., and perhaps even before, to the middle to late 8th c. B.C.). I am interested primarily in this first stage: the living, changing, oral stage of the transmission of Greek epic, when the idiom of poetic diction was still evolving, and during which a word might easily have been misheard, resegmented, and then generalized by its extension into a different phonetic context. A large bulk of the three dozen or so illustrations of metanalysis treated in this work is drawn unambiguously from this stage.

2) Transcriptive stage—when an individual bard performed or dictated a particular version of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* to be recorded in writing, probably by an amanuensis—though a bard could conceivably have served as his own amanuensis (i.e., middle to late 8th c. B.C.). I am interested in this second stage, the very occasion of the epics' first transcription, since, as fieldwork on living oral traditions has shown, even a very careful transcriber never records a singer's words verbatim but acts himself as a filter between singer and text.[4] Some metanalyses

(1979) esp. 1–11, (1981), (1990) 52–81, (1992), (1995), (1996a) esp. 29–112, (1996b) esp. 107–206, *New Companion* esp. 111–112, (1998), (1999), (2000).

For a recent comparison of the merits (and demerits) of the 'oral-dictation' and 'evolutionary' models of text fixation, see S. Reece (2005). As interesting and important as is the debate, it is not central to the issue of the junctural metanalysis of words under consideration in this work, since the stage most productive for metanalysis—what I call the 'bardic stage,' i.e., the pre-Homeric period—is one that both sides would agree was entirely oral.

[4] See, in general, A.B. Lord (1960) 124–128 and, more specifically, on the editing by an amanuensis of a Serbo-Croatian guslar's song, J.M. Foley (1990) 28, n. 18, who describes how Nikola Vujnović's transcriptions of sung performances omitted, changed, and even added lines and parts of lines.

Some changes are bound to occur, even in a dictation recorded with great care by a professional scribe. The amanuensis of the apostle Paul, for example, may have recorded the apostle's oral dictation erroneously on occasion, sometimes owing to the same sort of oral/aural ambiguities at word boundaries treated in this work: 1 Thessalonians 2:7 ἐγενήθημεν ἤπιοι or ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι; Philippians 2:1 εἴ τις σπλάγχνα or εἴ τι σπλάγχνα (cf. Hebrews 7:1 ὁ συναντήσας or ὃς συναντήσας)? Such cruces raise a thorny question for New Testament textual critics: is it the goal of an editor to reconstruct what Paul originally dictated to his amanuensis or what his amanuensis wrote in the first textualization of Paul's words? This question is, of course, equally thorny in the case of our Homeric texts.

A modern comparison (or perhaps contrast) may be observed in the reluctance of many contemporary song-writers to have their lyrics transcribed on the labels of

of words likely occurred at this stage. One can even imagine the bard being asked—or asking himself, for the first time, as he saw the text take shape on the surface of the page—what he intended by certain combinations of words and sounds.[5] Yet, this stage will play only a small part in my treatment of metanalyzed words, since in the history of the transmission of the epics this was but a singular moment about which we know nothing with certainty.

3) Rhapsodic stage—during the several generations of largely memorized recitations, dramatic though they may have been in performance, of fairly well-established texts (i.e., middle to late 8th c. B.C. to late 6th c. B.C. and beyond). I am less interested in this third stage, during which an individual rhapsode on the occasion of a single performance may have refashioned certain features of the traditional version but would not have greatly affected by his idiosyncrasies the mainstream tradition.[6] This stage will play little or no part in my treatment of metanalyzed words, since what survives of rhapsodic embellishments in the form of variant readings in ancient quotations of Homer, in pre-

their CD's. Their words remain oral, albeit electronic; thereby the words can remain ambiguous, leaving room for different interpretations by their listeners.

[5] I am thinking, for example, of Persephone's epithet ἐπαινή, which occurs six times in Homer (*Il.* 9.457, 569; *Od.* 10.491, 534, 564; 11.47), but thereafter only in three late imitations (Lucian, Triphiodorus, *Anthologiae Graecae*). It looks as though ἐπαινή is a misanalysis of ἐπ᾽ αἰνή, with ἐπί used adverbially 'and in addition dreadful Persephone,' since the epithet occurs only when Persephone is introduced as the second of a pair of divinities (i.e., so-and-so καὶ ἐπ᾽ αἰνὴ Περσεφόνεια). The fact that ἐπαινή is so isolated lexically indicates that this is no early bardic metanalysis, for in that case it would probably have taken on at least some life of its own outside the phonetic environment that created it. On the other hand, the fact that ἐπαινή is the reading in all extant manuscripts, as well as in all ancient commentaries and lexica, indicates that the resegmentation occurred very early indeed. Perhaps we are witness here to a misanalysis by an amanuensis during the actual event of a bardic dictation.

The phrase χύτο θέσφατος ἀήρ at *Od.* 7.143 may also fall into this category. Although it is thus attested in all extant manuscripts (but see *Eustathius* on *Od.* 7.273), the earlier form was probably χύτ᾽ ἀθέσφατος ἀήρ, for the form ἀθέσφατος occurs in the phrase καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον at *Il.* 3.4 in the same metrical position, and it is also a regular modifier of νύξ, θάλασσα, etc., while the form θέσφατος is never used elsewhere as an attributive adjective in early epic verse. The manuscript reading of *Od.* 7.143 is apparently the result of an aural error rather than a visual one, possibly motivated by the relative rarity of the hephthemimeral caesura in comparison to the bucolic diaeresis. A text of the passage, whether a very early one written in *scriptio continua et plena* ΧΥΤΟΑΘΕΣΦΑΤΟΣ or a later one written simply *scriptio continua* ΧΥΤΑΘΕΣΦΑΤΟΣ would have presented no ambiguity about word division.

[6] A useful analogy can be observed in the later textual stage of transmission, during which an innovation in an individual copy did not affect the homogeneity of the mainstream textual tradition as a whole.

Aristarchean editions of Homer (as reported in the Homeric scholia), and in the early Homeric papyri, is in sum too small a corpus to add meaningfully to the picture of metanalysis envisioned here. In any case, since the epic *Kunstsprache* had by this time ceased producing new formulas and diction, newly metanalyzed collocations, whether generated acoustically or textually, would not have enjoyed the environment necessary to survive and become legitimate and productive words on their own. As interesting and significant as these variant readings may be for other reasons, they are not a productive source of material for our present investigation.

4) Textual stage—when the epics began to be more widely disseminated in textual form rather than through dramatic recitations, and people began to know them through reading, at first aloud, either by someone else or to themselves, and then later silently (i.e., late 6th c. B.C. through the Hellenistic period and beyond). I am even less interested in this fourth stage, for the fourth is concerned primarily with scholarly decisions about texts during a time at which the *scriptio continua* (a script that did not demarcate word division) and *scriptio plena* (a script that included vowels elided in pronunciation), along with other factors—e.g., haplography of geminated consonants, and apparently even of geminated vowels, the letters E and O representing more than one vowel sound, and a general confusion about vowel quantity—elicited much perplexity about word division (see Illustration II).[7] For example:

Since the *scriptio continua* of the ancient texts of Homer did not demarcate word divisions, should ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝΕΥΣ at *Il.* 13.246, etc. be read θεραπωνεύς or θεράπων ἐΰς; should ΔΑΚΡΥΧΕΩΝ at *Il.* 1.357,

[7] On the orthographical appearance of a typical Homeric text during this period, see *Schwyzer* I 102–103; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 5–16; A. Heubeck (1979) 161–169; *Janko*, *Commentary* 32–37; M.L. West (2001) 3–5, 21–23. I include as a sub-category of this stage the common practice in the ancient world of reading a text aloud to a group of copyists; see T.C. Skeat (1956). One copyist may have interpreted what he heard differently from the others, thereby introducing a unique segmentation of a collocation of words. This was the origin, no doubt, of many of the misdivided forms that have ended up in the *apparatus critici* of our texts for many authors, not just Homer; such circumstances may perhaps account for the variants found, for example, at *Il.* 20.421, 21.575; *Od.* 7.197, 11.598, 15.451, 23.14. But individual errors of this sort would not have had much effect on the homogeneity of the mainstream of the textual tradition; they would have been quickly corrected by the influence of that mainstream. In any case, they would not have generated new vocabulary with a life of its own outside the immediate context of the misdivided verse.

etc. be read δακρυχέων or δάκρυ χέων; should ΑΡΗΙΦΙΛΟΣ at *Il.* 3.21, etc. be read ἀρηΐφιλος or Ἄρηϊ φίλος?[8] The debates among the grammarians of the Hellenistic and Roman periods about word divisions in such circumstances as these were contentious, and the variations in their editions were considerable. Modern editions are only slightly more homogeneous, and it is not unusual to find different ways of dividing the same collocation of syllables even within a single modern edition.

Since the *scriptio plena* of at least some of the most ancient texts of Homer presented vowels in full that were elided in pronunciation, should ΕΝΤΥΝΟΝΤΟΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ at *Il.* 24.124 and *Od.* 16.2 be read ἐντύνοντο ἄριστον (with hiatus and short alpha in ἄριστον) or ἐντυνοντ' ἄριστον (without hiatus, and with long alpha—from ἀϝέριστον); should ΚΗΡΥΚΙΗΠΥΤΙΔΗΙ at *Il.* 17.324 by read κήρυκι Ἠπυτίδῃ (with hiatus and a shortening of the normally long upsilon of κήρυκι) or κήρυκ' Ἠπυτίδῃ (without hiatus and with long upsilon)? Such ambiguities are common when a word that ends in a short vowel, and is therefore prone to elision (e.g., δέ, γε, ποτέ), is followed by a verb that, given the apparently optional status of initial augment in early Greek, may or may not have had the augment articulated: e.g., Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή or Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή (*Il.* 1.5, etc.); κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερον γ' ἐπέδησε or κατὰ δ' οὖν ἕτερόν γε πέδησε (*Il.* 19.94); οἳ πρὶν μέν ποτ' ἔναιον or οἳ πρὶν μέν ποτε ναῖον (*Od.* 6.4)?

Since some of the most ancient texts of Homer apparently reduced geminated consonants, and perhaps also vowels, to one letter, should ΑΛΑΟΣΚΟΠΙΗΝ at *Il.* 10.515, etc. be read ἀλαοσκοπιήν or ἀλαὸς σκοπιήν; should ΑΜΦΙΛΥΚΗΝΥΞ at *Il.* 7.433 be read ἀμφιλύκη νύξ or ἀμφὶ λύκην νύξ; should ΟΣΠΟΤΕΜΕΙΡΟΜΕΝΟΣ at *Il.* 7.127 be read ὅς

8 Should ΕΥΦΡΟΝΕΩΝ at *Il.* 1.73, etc. be read ἐΰφρονέων or ἐῢ φρονέων? Should ΚΕΚΑΜΩ at *Il.* 1.168 (cf. 7.5; 17.158; *Od.* 9.126) be read κεκάμω or κε κάμω? Should ΑΝΑΔΩΔΩΝΑΙΕ at *Il.* 16.233 be read ἄνα Δωδωναῖε or Ἀναδωδωναῖε? Should ΥΠΟΝΗΙΩΙ at *Od.* 1.186 (cf. 3.81) be read ὑπονηίῳ or ὑπὸ Νηίῳ? Should ΜΕΛΑΝΟΣΤΟΘΗΡΗΤΗΡΟΣ at *Il.* 21.252 be read μελανόστου θηρητῆρος or μέλανος, τοῦ θηρητῆρος? Should ΥΠΕΡΜΟΡΟΝ at *Il.* 20.30, etc. be read ὑπέρμορον or ὑπὲρ μόρον? Should ΚΑΡΗΚΟΜΟΩΝΤΕΣ at *Il.* 2.11, etc. be read καρηκομόωντες or κάρη κομόωντες? Should ΚΗΡΕΣΙΦΟΡΗΤΟΣ at *Il.* 8.527 be read κηρεσσιφορήτους or Κήρεσσι φορητούς? Should ΠΡΟΤΙΘΕΝΤΟΙΔΕ at *Od.* 1.112 be read πρότιθεν τοὶ δέ or προτίθεντο ἰδέ? Should ΚΑΤΑΓΟΝΤΟΙΔΕ at *Od.* 3.10 be read κάταγον τοὶ δ' or κατάγοντο ἰδ'? Should the ΔΕ in ΑΙΔΟΣΔΕ, ΔΟΜΟΝΔΕ, ΟΙΚΟΝΔΕ, and ΟΛΥΜΠΟΝΔΕ be read as a conjoined suffix or not? And, perhaps in the most variously interpreted of all, should ΟΥΔΕΝΟΣΩΡΑ at *Il.* 8.178 be read οὐδενόσωρα, οὐδὲ νόσωρα, οὐδὲν ὅσωρα, οὐδ' ἐνόσωρα, or οὐδ' ἑνόσωρα? Further examples at: *Il.* 1.20, 1.102, etc., 2.645, etc., 8.493, etc., 19.107, 24.213; *Od.* 5.281, 7.13, 8.108, 9.251, 10.87, 11.134, 14.12, 17.231, 19.319, 23.281.

ποτέ μ' εἰρόμενος or ὅς ποτέ μειρόμενος; should ΟΣΦΙΝ at *Il.* 1.73, etc. be read ὅ σφιν or ὅς σφιν (or even ὅς φιν!)?

Since in some of the most ancient texts of Homer the letter E could represent ε or ει, and possibly η, and the letter O could represent ο or ου, and possibly ω, should ΟΜΟΣΤΙΧΑΕ at *Il.* 15.635 be read ὁμοστιχάει or ὁμοῦ στιχάει?[9]

But these are all ambiguities about word division that, having been created by textual scholars, are also able to be resolved by textual scholars. The misdivided forms are of interest only within the contexts of specific passages, outside of which they seldom had a living history. I say 'seldom' rather than 'never' with good reason, for this fourth stage of transmission has been the playground of Homeric commentators since the Alexandrian period—the scholia are full of controversies regarding such textual word-divisions—and sometimes a misdivided form did briefly escape the phonetic environment that created it to become a showpiece in the studied verse of some clever Alexandrian scholar/poet. For example:

At *Od.* 10.161 Odysseus spears a stag ΚΑΤΑΚΝΗΣΤΙΝΜΕΣΑΝΩΤΑ, a collocation that most ancient manuscripts divided κατ' ἄκνηστιν μέσα νῶτα ('through the spine in the middle of the back'). The *communis opinio* among the ancient lexicographers was that ἄκνηστιν denoted that part of the back that 'could not be scratched' (ὅπερ κνήσασθαι ζῷον ἀδυνατεῖ).[10] In his description of the wounded serpent Ladon, Apollonius of Rhodes, apparently under the influence of this Homeric passage, replicated this form in his ἐπ' ἄκνηστιν 'to the spine' (*Argonautica* 4.1403). However, we should note that a minority of ancient Homeric manuscripts divided the collocation at *Od.* 10.161 differently—κατὰ κνῆστιν μέσα νῶτα—and this in fact appears to be the correct form. Some of the ancient lexicographers—Hesychius (sub κνῆστις) and Apollonius Sophista (sub ἄκνηστις)—suggest that κνῆστις means 'spine.' The relation of the word to κνῆστις 'a grating tool,' as in *Il.* 11.640, is suggested by F. Bechtel and M. Leumann, and the restoration of the correct κατὰ κνῆστιν to the text is made

[9] The ancient texts of Hesiod—in which the letter E regularly represents η, as well as ε and ει, and the letter O regularly represents ω, as well as ο and ου—pose such difficulties as: should ΔΙΕΤΑΞΕΝΟΜΟΣ at *Theogony* 74 be read διέταξε νόμους or διέταξεν ὁμῶς? Cf. a similar difficulty in Empedocles fr. 9.5.

[10] Cf., scholia on *Od.* 10.161, *Hesychius* sub ἄκνηστις, sub κατ' ἄκνηστιν.

by J. Wackernagel, F. Bechtel, P. von der Mühll, and in the *LfgE*.[11] In sum, while it may be interesting for the study of Hellenistic epic that a misdivision in early Homeric manuscripts inspired a new word in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, it is of little concern for the present study, for this is an exclusively textual misdivision; the misdivided form had no life outside the lucubrations of scholar poets and their savant readers.

Likewise, it is unclear whether the collocation ΔΗΡΙΝΘΗΤΗΝ at *Il.* 16.756 should be read δηρινθήτην, representing an aorist, passive, indicative, third-person, dual form of the verb δηρίομαι/δηριάομαι (6x in Homer, but only here in all of Greek literature in this particular form), or whether it should be read as two words, δῆριν θήτην, representing the accusative form of δῆρις and a form of τίθημι altered by analogy with other root aorists—i.e., (ἐ)θήτην instead of (ἐ)θέτην, just as (ἐ)βήτην instead of (ἐ)βάτην. The undivided form is almost universally attested in the Homeric manuscripts and almost universally accepted in modern editions. But the intrusive ν is difficult to explain in the undivided form, and the divided form is strongly supported by the phrase δῆριν ἐθέντο (*Il.* 17.158, etc.).[12] The epic meter's normal resistance to word end after a spondee in the fifth foot seems to support the undivided form, but this could also explain the failure of commentators and readers since antiquity to consider the divided form (i.e., *difficilius metrum potius*). The 'misdivision' δηρινθήτην, if it is indeed a misdivision, had a short afterlife, and an exclusively textual one. Apollonius of Rhodes, apparently under the influence of δηρινθήτην in his manuscripts of *Il.* 16.756, was inspired to create the form δηρινθῆναι (*Argonautica* 2.16), and Euphorion, also in apparent imitation, created the form δηρινθέντες (fr. 98.3), but these are the only attestations of the verb with ν outside the Homeric passage. This is an instructive illustration of how an exclusively textual misdivision usually fails to take on a life of its own outside the very limited scope of self-conscious scholarly allusions.

A similar case is that of ΔΙΑΣΤΗΤΗΝ in the proem of the *Iliad* (1.6), which the Hellenistic poets Theocritus and Dosiadas understood—or

[11] F. Bechtel (1909) 72, M. Leumann (1950) 49; J. Wackernagel (1910) 1, *Bechtel* 27, *Von der Mühll*, *Odyssey* on 10.161, and *LfgE* (sub ἄκνηστις).

[12] The exact phrase δῆριν ἐθέντο occurs eight times in later Greek (Choerilus fr. 13a.6; Demosthenes' *De Corona* 289.6; Euphorion fr. 98.2; *Greek Anthology* 7.541.4, 9.269.1, and 11.357.1; Oppian's *Halieutica* 2.359; Quintus' *Posthomerica* 4.271), and three additional times with a slightly different verb form (*Batrachomyomachia* 3–4; *Orphica Lithica* 676; Quintus' *Posthomerica* 5.419).

at least pretended to understand—not as the aorist, active, indicative, third-person, dual form of the fairly common verb διίστημι (7x in Homer) but as a prepositional phrase διὰ στήτην; i.e., not 'striving, they stood apart' (διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε) but 'striving for the sake of a στήτη' (διὰ στήτην ἐρίσαντε/ἐρίσαντο). Theocritus (*Syrinx* 14) and Dosiadas (*Ara* 1) seem to have this Iliadic verse in mind in their neologism στήτας 'girls.' Eustathius (on *Il.* 1.6 and 13.29) refers to 'inferior' copies of the *Iliad* that read διὰ στήτην ἐρίσαντο. Hesychius makes the equation στήτα = γυνή (sub στήτα), as do the scholia on *Il.* 1.6 and Theocritus' *Syrinx*. M. Leumann attributes the misdivision to the fact that the dual form of the verb was not recognized by the Hellenistic poets.[13] But C.J. Ruijgh and R. Renehan suggest that Theocritus and Dosiadas, far from misunderstanding the dual, were simply creating a pun for their savvy colleagues, who knew the proem of the *Iliad* by heart and would have recognized the cryptogram.[14] In any case, the neologism that resulted from the misdivision, whether deliberate or not, did not enjoy a life outside the technopaignia that created it.

I conclude with a misdivision of a Homeric collocation that is of exceptional interest because it seems to have crossed a language boundary to show up in Latin poetry. Vergil apparently misread Homer's description of the earthquake-prone home of Typhoeus, located ΕΝΑΡΙΜΟΙΣ, i.e., εἰν Ἀρίμοις (*Il.* 2.783), and then propagated the misdivided form in his own description of Typhoeus' home (*Aeneid* 9.716)—*Inarime* Iovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo—whence it made its way to the verses of Ovid, Lucan, Seneca, Silius Italicus, Statius, and Valerius Flaccus. Given the sophisticated and playful nature of Augustan poetry, it is not beyond belief that Vergil 'misdivided' Homer's text deliberately to give a Homeric flavoring to the island of Aenaria (= Ischia), the scene of Vergil's passage. So, once again, we seem to be dealing here simply with the clever devices of highly literate, textual poets.[15]

In sum, for the purposes of this study, it is my intention to distinguish between such late and primarily textual misdivisions by self-conscious and bookish scholars of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, which had little life outside the contexts that created them, and early and primarily oral junctural metanalyses, such as Σελλοί, ἥκεστος, and γέφυρα,

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13 M. Leumann (1950) 112.

14 C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 100–101; R. Renehan (1969) 92.

15 On this passage see W.B. Stanford (1939) 45; M.L. West (1966) 250–251; P. Hardie (1994) 223–224.

that arose during the bardic stage of transmission, and then escaped the phonetic environments that created them to become generalized as new additions to the idiom of the ever evolving epic diction. In order to maintain the distinction between metanalyses that occurred in the first (oral) and fourth (textual) stages, it will be necessary to apply this criterion assiduously: did the metanalyzed form of the word escape the phonetic environment that created it and become generalized as a living word in its own right?

CHAPTER FOUR

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN HOMER OWING TO NU-EPHELKYSTIKON AND FINAL NU

Introduction

Analogous to the force of 'movable-n' in English is the 'nu-ephelkystikon' of ancient Greek.[1] Just as the phonetic ambiguity of word combinations created by the movable-n of the English indefinite article (a[n]), possessive pronouns (my[n], thy[n]), and old dative of the definite article (the[n]), led to prothesis in such metanalyses as ewt > newt, otch > notch, and ekename > nickname, and aphaeresis in such metanalyses as nouch > ouch, noumpere > umpire, and napron > apron, so, I propose, did the phonetic ambiguity of word combinations created by nu-ephelkystikon wield a similar influence in the history of the development of the ancient Greek lexicon.

Nu-ephelkystikon occurs regularly in Classical Greek before a word beginning with a vowel or before a pause: in the dative plural of third-declension nouns (ὄρνισι[ν]); in several third-person plural verbal forms (λύουσι[ν], λύσουσι[ν], λελύκασι[ν]); in the third-person singular of μι-verbs (ἱστᾶσι[ν]); in many other third person singular verbal forms (ἔλυε[ν], ἔλυσε[ν], λέλυκε[ν], ἐλελύκει[ν]); and in a few other suffixes (ὄπισθε[ν], βίηφι[ν]).

Nu-ephelkystikon appears to have had its origin in the final -ν of the pronominal dative forms, which is probably an inherited Indo-European feature (Attic-Ionic ἡμῖν, Doric ἁμίν, Aeolic ἄμμιν, cf. Sanskrit *ásmin*). We observe in the early inscriptions of several Greek dialects its passage to the dative plurals of third-declension nouns, but its occurrence in the verbal forms is peculiar to Attic-Ionic, where it was first extended, by analogy, to the third-person plural verbal forms, and, finally, to the singular forms as well.[2] This development in the vernacular triggered,

[1] The term 'nu-ephelkystikon' appears to have been coined by the Hellenistic grammarians and lexicographers: Aristonicus, Dionysius Thrax, Tryphon, Herodian, etc.

[2] For concise treatments of the status of nu-ephelkystikon in early Greek, see *Buck*, *Dialects* 102 and A.L. Sihler (1995) 232–233; for a broader historical account, see J. Kurylowicz (1972).

as often, a simultaneous development in the diction of epic poetry. The Homeric and post-Homeric Ionic epic tradition—as well as later non-epic Ionic forms of poetry—relied increasingly on nu-ephelkystikon to obviate hiatus and to make a naturally light syllable heavy by position before a following consonant, and there is no reason to doubt that this trend began long before Homer when Ionian bards first took up the epic tradition.[3] Conversely, it seems reasonable to assume that the usefulness of nu-ephelkystikon for versification, and its increasing usage over time in all forms of Ionic poetry, stimulated an increase in its usage in the vernacular. The relationship between the *Kunstsprache* and the vernacular was always a symbiotic one.

The ramifications for the present study are these: we can say with some confidence that formulaic phrases in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that require a nu-ephelkystikon in a verbal form to obviate hiatus or to make position are the result of Ionic innovation. That is, we know not only where (Ionia) the formula arose or was modified but also when: between the time Ionian bards began to take up the epic tradition from their Aeolian predecessors, who had brought it over to Asia Minor from the Greek mainland, and the time of the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But we can be more precise. In the sequence of various linguistic innovations introduced by Ionian bards, we know that initial digamma began to be neglected some time after the introduction of nu-ephelkystikon; this is proven internally, within the epic tradition itself, by those formulas that combine both nu-ephelkystikon and initial digamma to make position (e.g., *Od.* 19.519: καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν (ϝ)ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο). Therefore a formulaic phrase in which nu-ephelkystikon in a verbal form is used to obviate a hiatus caused by the neglect of initial digamma (e.g., ἔδωκε ϝάναξ ἀνδρῶν > ἔδωκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν) must have reached its final form just a few generations before Homer. About some formulaic phrases, as I shall illustrate below, we can be even more precise, for a formulaic phrase in which a nu-ephelkystikon that arose under these conditions became thereafter a contributing factor in the metanalysis of the formula (e.g., ἔχε ϝήδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος) must have reached its final form within a generation or two of Homer and in fact may have been an innovation

[3] On nu-ephelkystikon as a force in the development and modification of Greek epic diction during the pre-Homeric period, see A. Hoekstra (1965) 71–111; for the post-Homeric period, see R. Janko (1982) 64–68.

of the poet himself. This particular linguistic development, of course, offers just a glimpse of a larger picture that has become much clearer with increased knowledge of early Greek dialectology, a picture that portrays the generations immediately before Homer as an exceptionally productive period of epic verse-making.

Let us scrutinize in this light, then, a few formulaic phrases that have experienced metanalysis as a result of the influence of nu-ephelkystikon during this productive period of epic verse-making. Many of these metanalyses will have arisen by prothesis of nu-ephelkystikon (so ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος became ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος). Fewer, perhaps, will have arisen by aphaeresis after a word that was incorrectly perceived to have had a nu-ephelkystikon (so ἀνδράσι νηπεδανοῖσι became ἀνδράσιν ἠπεδανοῖσι). Finally, we should keep in mind that not all metanalyses associated with the sound of the letter 'nu' need be attributed to nu-ephelkystikon; some may have arisen, either through prothesis or aphaeresis, simply as a result of the common occurrence of 'nu' falling at the end of a Greek word (likewise 'sigma,' 'kappa,' and 'rho'), whether or not followed by a word beginning with 'nu' (so ἦνιν νηκέστην ἱερευσέμεν became ἦνιν ἠκέστην ἱερευσέμεν).

νήδυμος / ἥδυμος

The clearest and perhaps most notorious example of prothesis is νήδυμος, the common epithet for sleep in Homer (νήδυμος ὕπνος: 8x *Iliad*; 4x *Odyssey*; 1x *Hymns*).[4] Given its lexical isolation in Homer, where it is used only as an adjective to modify sleep, it is not surprising that the ancients themselves were puzzled by its meaning: was it somehow related to ἡδύς ('sweet' sleep); was it derived from δύνω in its so-called 'epektatic' or 'epitatic' (i.e., intensive) form (sleep that 'encompasses' its subject); was it derived from the combination of νη- ('not') and δύνω (sleep that is 'inescapable,' i.e., ἀνέκδυτος); was it related to νηδύς ('womb'), hence meaning βαθύς ('deep'); or was it an alternative form of ἀνώδυνος ('without pain')?[5] Modern scholars

[4] *Il.* 2.2; 10.91, 187; 14.242, 253, 354; 16.454; 23.63 (cf. also the interpolated verse 14.351a); *Od.* 4.793; 12.311, 366; 13.79; *H.Aphr.* 171 (cf. also *H.Pan* 16, where the epithet modifies μοῦσα).

[5] The considerable scholia on *Il.* 2.2 (here Aristonicus) mention that some derive νήδυμος from ἡδύς; hence, even some poets, such as Antimachus (fr. 74) and Simonides (fr. 79) prefer the form ἥδυμος to νήδυμος. Aristonicus rejects this, however, citing

have generally followed in the footsteps of their ancient counterparts, favoring one or another of these five options, occasionally in slightly modified form.[6] The problem in short is this: no convincing cognates of νήδυμος present themselves in other Indo-European languages, in Greek it first occurs in Homer, but its context there is severely limited, and its use in later Greek seems to be drawn entirely from its Homeric usage.[7] The word has no linguistic history, and but for Homer it would have had no linguistic future. We find ourselves in the not unfamiliar position of trying 'to elucidate Homer from Homer'—Ὅμηρον ἐξ Ὁμήρου σαφηνίζειν in Porphyry's words.

The context in which the epithet occurs in Homer suggests its equivalence in meaning to ἥδυμος ('sweet'); in fact the epithet appears as ἥδυμος ὕπνος in some Homeric manuscripts (at *Il.* 2.2; *Od.* 4.793, 12.311), in a fragment of Hesiod (fr. 330), in the *Hymn to Hermes* (241, 449), in the lyric verse of Alcman (fr. 137) and Simonides (fr. 79), in the comic verse of Epicharmus (fr. 179 [ἅδυμος]), and in the elegiac

Aristarchus' derivation of νήδυμος from δύνω in its 'epektatic' form (since, presumably, sleep 'sinks' or 'settles' or 'descends' on one, 'encompassing' its subject). Others, Aristonicus continues, apparently derive νήδυμος from the combination of νη- ('not') and δύνω (sleep that is 'inescapable,' i.e., ἀνέκδυτος). Others translate νήδυμος as βαθύς ('deep'), associating the epithet with νηδύς ('womb'). Finally, some relate the epithet to ἀνώδυνος ('without pain'). The lexica of Apollonius Sophista, Hesychius, and the *Suda* (sub νήδυμος) mention the first, third, and fourth options; *Porphyry* (on *Il.* 2.2 and *Od.* 4.793) mentions the second, third, and fourth; *Eustathius* (on *Il.* 2.2 and elsewhere) mentions all but the last.

[6] The modern *communis opinio* has gravitated toward the etymology that Aristonicus and Aristarchus rejected: that νήδυμος bears some relationship to ἡδύς ('sweet' sleep), though the precise nature of that relationship has been variously understood (see below). Aristarchus' suggestion that νήδυμος contains a form of the verb δύνω or δύω has been seconded, though not confidently, by *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 13.79, and with slight modification (associating νη- with an adverb **ne-* [cf. νειόθι, etc.] meaning 'below') by K. Brugmann (1900). The ancient association of the epithet with νηδύς ('womb') has been picked up by a few modern scholars: V. Pisani (1950) and (1964) sees in the epithet a reference to the sleep of a child in the embrace of its mother, or of a fetus in its mother's womb. Even the ancient, though apparently not very widespread, belief that the epithet was etymologically related to ἀνώδυνος ('without pain') has been reiterated, though not with great enthusiasm, by W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1969) 72, n. 31. *LfgE* sub νήδυμος references much of the literature but surprisingly relegates the association with ἡδύς to folk etymological status. Others have been more idiosyncratic, offering new and fanciful etymologies: *Goebel* vol. 1, 556–563 conjectures νη- privative + ἁδ or ἁδ *satietas* (i.e., 'insatiable sleep'); J.B. Bury (1890) 230 offers νη- privative + δυμος (cf. δίδυμος, τρίδυμος, τετράδυμος) 'fertilized ovum' (i.e., 'unfathered sleep').

[7] Cf. especially in later poetry—Homeric Hymns, *Batrachomyomachia*, Moschus, Oppian, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Nonnus, the Greek Anthology—where νήδυμος most often appears to have the sense ἡδύς.

verse of Antimachus (fr. 74). And thanks to the astute lexical work of Buttmann, Bechtel, Chantraine, and Leumann, among others, it can be said with some confidence that they are one and the same word. But if νήδυμος and ἥδυμος are one and the same word—the *communis opinio* today—how does one account for the mysterious 'nu' in νήδυμος? Many scholars have remained non-committal, noting that some sort of misdivision has occurred without explaining clearly why and when.[8] Others have explained νήδυμος as an orthographic misdivision that occurred during the period of textual transmission, presumably as a result of ambiguity of word boundaries in the *scriptio continua* of the textual tradition.[9] Only recently have some articulated what I regard as the correct response—that an acoustic misdivision (i.e., a junctural metanalysis) occurred during the period of oral transmission of pre-Homeric epic.[10]

Νήδυμος must have been created in poetic contexts not unlike those of *Il.* 2.2 (ἔχε (ϝ)ήδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος), *Il.* 10.91 (ἐπ' ὄμμασι (ϝ)ήδυμος ὕπνος > ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἥδυμος ὕπνος), *Il.* 14.242 (προσεφώνεε (ϝ)ήδυμος ὕπνος > προσεφώνεεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος), and *Od.* 4.793 = 12.311 (ἐπήλυθε (ϝ)ήδυμος ὕπνος > ἐπήλυθεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος), once initial digamma (here from an earlier **sw*- [i.e., Proto-Greek **swādumos*]) dropped out of the vernacular and nu-ephelkystikon was introduced—a most fortunate development for these formulas, as we have seen, since the introduction of nu-ephelkystikon could obviate the hiatus resulting from the loss of digamma. In turn ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος was replaced by metanalysis, i.e., through mishearing and misdivision,

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[8] So *Ebeling* sub νήδυμος; *Boisacq* sub νήδυμος; *Bechtel* sub ἥδυμος; *Cunliffe* sub νήδυμος; *Hofmann* sub νήδυμος; *GEW* sub νήδυμος; C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 103 and (1978) 95; *Kirk*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 2.2; *Hainsworth*, *Iliad Commentary* on 10.91; *Hoekstra*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 13.79; *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 14.242.

[9] So P. Buttmann (1818) I 179–183: "die rechte Schreibart"; J. La Roche (1866) 315–316: "Aristarch diese Schreibweise zuerst einführte"; *LSJ* sub νήδυμος: "false division in the Homeric text"; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 14 and *DELG* sub νήδυμος, ἥδομαι: "graphie fautive"; *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 4.793: "we should read ἥδυμος here"; M. Leumann (1950) 44–45, who attributes the misdivision to "Rhapsoden und Grammatiker nachhomerischer Zeit"; G.M. Bolling (1925) 165–169, who insists that all occurrences of νήδυμος in Homer are either interpolations or late tampering with the text; cf. G.M. Bolling (1951), who argues strongly that many of the peculiar forms noted by Leumann should be attributed to post-Homeric tampering with an inherited text.

[10] A. Dihle (1970) 1–2 states quite explicitly that in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* an earlier ἥδυμος was replaced by νήδυμος through 'mishearing' (Hörfehler); *LfgE* sub ἥδυμος agrees; *S. West*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 4.793–94 also seems to have an oral period in mind.

by ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος, ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἥδυμος ὕπνος by ἐπ' ὄμμασι νήδυμος ὕπνος, προσεφώνεεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος by προσεφώνεε νήδυμος ὕπνος, and ἐπήλυθεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος by ἐπήλυθε νήδυμος ὕπνος.

This hypothetical line of evolution is supported by the fact that it took place so much more readily in the epic of Ionia, where initial digamma dropped out relatively early, than among the mainland poets (Hesiod, the poet of *H.Herm.*, Alcman, Simonides), who retained (ϝ)ἥδυμος because initial digamma continued to survive in their vernacular.[11] In effect, we are provided by the linguistic evidence with a *terminus post quem* for the development of the epithet: after initial digamma had disappeared, and after nu-ephelkystikon had been introduced; i.e., fairly late in the pre-Homeric epic tradition. And we are provided with a dialectal channel for the development as well: the Ionic dialect, which, along with Attic, is unique in its demonstration of nu-ephelkystikon in verbal forms from the earliest period of attestation.[12]

What needs to be emphasized for our present purposes, though, is that we are provided with a *terminus ante quem* as well, for this entire evolution must have occurred during the oral stages of transmission, in the pre-Homeric period, not, as Leumann, for example, believed, among the rhapsodes and grammarians of the post-Homeric period.[13] This is proven by Homer's use of νήδυμος outside those phonetic environments in which metanalysis was apt to occur (i.e., after words ending in 'nu' or possible nu-ephelkystikon), as in *Od.* 13.79–80:

> καὶ τῷ νήδυμος ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε,
> νήγρετος ἥδιστος, θανάτῳ ἄγχιστα ἐοικώς.

Here its independence from ἥδυμος, its legitimacy as a word in its own right, whatever it meant for the poet and his audience, is evident both from its phonetic and semantic environment. It has branched off from the phonetic environment that created it and established itself in

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[11] On this point see *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 14.242.

[12] As for the objection sometimes raised—e.g., K. Brugmann (1900) 278, V. Pisani (1950) 401, W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1969) 72—that such a common and well-understood word as ἥδυμος would never have been misanalyzed as a difficult to understand (even nonexistent) νήδυμος, I would respond that the ready association with νη + δύνω ('inescapable') or νηδύς ('womb') provided ample temptation to misanalyze on folk etymological grounds; cf. C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 103 and (1978) 95, who proposes νή-δυμος (= ἀν-έκδυτος) as the most likely popular etymology.

[13] M. Leumann (1950) 45: "Rhapsoden und Grammatiker nachhomerischer Zeit müssen dafür verantwortlich gemacht werden."

a position where it does not follow a word ending in 'nu' or possible nu-ephelkystikon (so also *Il.* 14.253, 14.351a, 16.454, 23.63; *Od.* 12.366). Moreover, its proximity to ἥδιστος in the next verse suggests that it has branched off semantically as well as phonetically from its progenitor, taking on a new meaning, or at least a nuance, of its own.[14] In sum, for Homer νήδυμος had become a legitimate and self-sufficient word, whatever he or his audience understood it to mean. Homeric diction had produced Homeric diction, quite apart from the non-poetic Greek vernacular.

Because it is well attested in several different contexts, νήδυμος is a marvelous illustration of the effects of junctural metanalysis: by observing the various passages in which it occurs, we can reconstruct how the metanalysis took place, how the new metanalyzed word escaped the context that had created it, and how it began a new and independent existence in an entirely different context. We cannot expect to be so fortunate in every case; after all, only a small sample of the corpus of epic verse that once existed has survived to our time.

νηπεδανός / ἠπεδανός

The next example, ἠπεδανός, a representative of aphaeresis of 'nu,' is much less fully attested; hence, its linguistic history is relatively less clear. The adjective appears only twice in the Homeric epics (*Il.* 8.104; *Od.* 8.311) and once in a Homeric hymn (*H.Ap.* 316); in later Greek it is found embedded primarily in dactylic hexameter and pentameter verses that draw on the Homeric epic tradition—e.g., Euphorion, Apollonius of Rhodes, Oppian—though it occurs infrequently also in the prose of the Ionian medical writers.

In Book 8 of the *Iliad* Diomedes is commiserating on the battlefield with the struggling Nestor: "Old man, surely the young fighters are wearing you out, your strength is gone and hard old age is upon you. And now your attendant is ἠπεδανός, and your horses are slow." (*Il.* 8.102–4)

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[14] M. Lacore (1997) observes this distinction when he acknowledges that while νήδυμος may be etymologically related to ἥδυμος, it has a peculiar semantic nuance in Homer by virtue of its close association with death (i.e., νήδυμος connotes an extraordinarily 'deep' sleep).

ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί,
σὴ δὲ βίη λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ὀπάζει,
ἠπεδανὸς δέ νύ τοι θεράπων, βραδέες δέ τοι ἵπποι.

The adjective in this context, here apparently applied to Nestor's charioteer Eurymedon (cf. 8.114), seems to mean 'weak' or 'weary.'

In Book 8 of the *Odyssey* Hephaestus laments Aphrodite's preference of the handsome and nimble-footed Ares over himself, her own husband, who is lame and ἠπεδανός (*Od.* 8.308–11):

ὡς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἐόντα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει, φιλέει δ' ἀΐδηλον Ἄρηα,
οὕνεχ' ὁ μὲν καλός τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε
ἠπεδανὸς γενόμην·

The contrast here between the nimble-footedness (ἀρτίπος) of Ares and the lameness (χωλός) of Hephaestus suggests that the poet understood ἠπεδανός to include the component -πεδ- (i.e., πούς 'without the use of one's foot,' hence 'slow'). This impression is reinforced a few verses later in a divine spectator's observation that the slow Hephaestus, although lame, has used his craft to catch up with Ares, the swiftest of the gods (*Od.* 8.329–32):

οὐκ ἀρετᾷ κακὰ ἔργα· κιχάνει τοι βραδὺς ὠκύν,
ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἥφαιστος ἐὼν βραδὺς εἷλεν Ἄρηα,
ὠκύτατόν περ ἐόντα θεῶν, οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσι,
χωλὸς ἐών, τέχνῃσι· τὸ καὶ μοιχάγρι' ὀφέλλει.

The poet of the hymn to Pythian Apollo seems to understand the etymology of ἠπεδανός in the same way when he describes Hera bitterly complaining that, while Zeus has independently begotten the distinguished goddess Athena, her own offspring Hephaestus is ἠπεδανός and shriveled in his feet (*H.Ap.* 316–17):

αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἠπεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσι
παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος ῥικνὸς πόδας ὃν τέκον αὐτὴ

The contexts of each of these three passages, the earliest attestations in the Greek language of the adjective ἠπεδανός, suggest that for the archaic poets and their audiences its meaning was 'weak,' 'weary,' or, more specifically, 'lame.' The adjective's appearance as a textual variant for οὐτιδανός at *Od.* 9.515 in a 3rd c. B.C. Ptolemaic papyrus (p31),[15]

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[15] Re-edited in S. West (1967) 223–256.

where Polyphemus expresses his dismay at having been overcome by so small, worthless, and weak a man as Odysseus, also lends support to this meaning. It is curious that ἠπεδανός shows up again some centuries later in Oppian's *Halieutica* 3.480 as a textual variant for οὐτιδανός, this time describing fish!

In later Greek the close association of ἠπεδανός with πούς ('foot'), and the specific context of lameness, is diminished, and the adjective is generalized and extended to mean not only 'weak'[16] or 'weary'[17] but also 'light' or 'slight,'[18] 'lacking,'[19] and, in an active sense, 'weakening.'[20]

Of the ancient lexicographers, who commented in considerable detail on the poetic usage of the adjective, some understood the ἠ- of ἠπεδανός as an ἀ-privative, and so regarded ἠπεδανός as synonymous with ἀ + πεδανός, ἀ + πεδίον, or ἀ + πέδον (i.e., 'lacking strength to stand on the ground') or ἄπους ('without the use of one's foot') and glossed it χωλός ('lame'), ἀσθενής ('strengthless'), ἀναίσθητος ('senseless'), and ἠλίθιος ('foolish').[21] Other ancient lexicographers categorized the ἠ- of ἠπεδανός as a 'pleonasm,' with no semantic value, and so regarded the

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[16] Of a feeble child in Hippocrates' *De Mulierum Affectibus* 1.27.4, cf. 1.78.48; of men generally in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 2.800, and of Aphrodite's hands at 3.82; of old parents in Euphorion fr. 415.9; of old age in a quote from an Orphic hymn in Proclus' *Theologia Platonica* 5.34.13; of fishing line in Oppian's *Halieutica* 1.54, and of small fish at 1.767 and *Cynegetica* 2.568; of the mind in Manetho's *Apotelesmatica* 2.160; of a lion in *Suda* sub ἠπεδανός, and in Babrius' *Fabulae* 9; of the apostle Peter in Gregorius Nazianzenus 1018.7, of children at 1508.2, and of the mind at 1509.13 (all J.-P. Migne's edition); of earthly desire in Eudocia Augusta's *De Martyrio Sancti Cypriani* 2.80, of a divinity in disguise at 2.243, and of a lame fighter who needs to sit on a horse at 2.330; of the souls of young girls (the Danaids) in Hades in Plutarch's *De Proverbiis Alexandrinorum* fr. 7.6 and in Michael Apostolius' *Collection Paroemiarum* 6.79.4. A verbal form κατηπέδανον is glossed as κατησθενηκός in Erotianus' collection of Hippocratic vocabulary (sub κατηπέδανον).

[17] Of a herdsman returning from the fields after a day's work in Oppian's *Cynegetica* 1.534; of the limbs of a sponge diver upon returning to his boat in Oppian's *Halieutica* 5.663.

[18] Of a fever in Hippocrates' *De Mulierum Affectibus* 1.4.13; of ghosts (?) in Euphorion fr. 134.

[19] Of a poet lacking fame in the *Anthologia Palatina* 9.521.6.

[20] Of fear in *Orphica Lithica* 382; of Orion's darts in *Orphica Lithica* 500.

[21] Scholium on *Il.* 8.104: ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ στῆναι διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές. *Hesychius* sub ἠπεδανός: οἷον ἀπέδανος ἤγουν ἄπους. χωλός. ἀσθενής. ἀναίσθητος. ἠλίθιος. Scholium on Oppian's *Halieutica* 1.54 (and to 1.767): ἐν ἠπεδανοῖσι· ἐν ἀσθενέσιν. ἠπεδανῆσι· ἀσθενέσιν· ἠπεδανὸν ἀσθενὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ α στερητικοῦ μορίου καὶ τοῦ πέδον ἤγουν τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναστῆναι δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν. *Suda* (sub ἠπεδανός) ἀσθενής. *Tryphon* Περὶ Παθῶν 1.5 (also 2.30 and 3.20), calls this alternation of sounds 'metalepsis': Μετάληψις δέ ἐστι στοιχείων μετακίνησις ἐπ᾽ ἀντίστοιχον ἄλλο, οἷον ἀπεδανός ἠπεδανός, αἱμοπόται αἱμηπόται, μέλαξ μάλαξ καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

adjective as synonymous with πεδανός, a derivative of πέδον 'ground' (hence, 'close to the ground,' 'low lying,' 'short,' 'small,' 'constricted,' 'humble,' 'undistinguished, 'weak,' or 'light').[22]

The considerable attention to the etymology of ἠπεδανός by modern scholars has not added much clarification to the picture. Some of the standard lexicographical works and Homeric commentaries have followed the path of the majority of ancient lexicographers in regarding the ἠ- of ἠπεδανός is an ἀ-privative, followed by -πεδ- (related to πούς) and the suffix -ανος.[23] But the prefix ἠ- has also been enlisted to convey a wide range of other meanings, from close proximity to wide separation.[24] Others have preferred to segment ἠπεδανός differently, with a suffix -εδανος rather than simple -ανος, as in πευκ-εδανός, ῥιγ-εδανός, and ἐλλ-εδανός. The several analogies, including Homeric analogies, make this segmentation morphologically attractive, but there is left the uncomfortably bare and etymologically difficult stem ἠπ-, under which conditions the initial η- could not be regarded as a prefix, since that would reduce the stem to -π-. Some have tried to associate ἠπ- with other Greek words (e.g., ἤπιος 'mild,' αἶπος 'weakness'),[25] but most have looked further afield, to other Indo-European languages, in their search for cognates: e.g., Sanskrit *apvá* 'illness, failure, panic,' Lithuanian *opùs* 'tender, wounded, frail,' Latin *vē-* 'imperfection.'[26] But most of these

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[22] *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 171, cf. 564: πλεονάζει γὰρ τὸ η ἐν πολλαῖς λέξεσιν ὡς τὸ μύω ἠμύω, πεδανός ἠπεδανός, βαιός ἠβαιός, εὐγενής εὐηγενής; so scholia on *Il.* 6.518 and *Od.* 8.311; cf. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 8.104: Τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ ἠπεδανός ἀπὸ τοῦ πέδον πλεονασμῷ τοῦ η. *Herodian* Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας 564: πεδανῷ ὕπνῳ ἢ ἠπεδανῷ, κούφῳ. Ἴων Ἀγαμέμνονι (i.e., Ion the Tragedian fr. 4.1: πεδανῷ ὕπνῳ). τινὲς δὲ οὐ βεβαίῳ; so also *Hesychius* sub πεδανῷ. *Hesychius* sub πεδανός: ταπεινός, πεδεινός, ἢ ὁ τῷ μάντει διδόμενος μισθός. Nicander, *Theriaca* 226, 289, 817, uses the adjective πεδανός to describe lizards, as well as the shape and position of animals' tails; cf. scholia to Nicander, which offer the following synonyms: ἀσθενής, μικροτέρος, ἀσημοτέρος, ὑποβεβηκώς, ταπεινός, στενουμένος.

[23] So *LSJ* sub ἠπεδανός, *Cunliffe* sub ἠπεδανός, *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 8.311.

[24] On ἠ- as an intensifying suffix, related to Sanskrit *ā*, *an*, see *Ebeling* sub ἠπεδανός; on ἠ- as a suffix connoting separation, related to Old High German *āteil*, see W. Schulze (1892) 148, n. 4 and P. Kretchmer (1920) 240–241.

[25] On a perceived association with ἤπιος, see *Lobeck* I 68, 115 and E.R. Wharton (1882) sub ἠπεδανός. On a perceived association with ἆπος, a variant reading for αἶπος 'weakness' (i.e., 'effects of steepness') in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* 851, see *Goebel* vol. 1, 255.

[26] The most commonly proposed cognates—Sanskrit *apvá* and Lithuanian *opùs*—point to a PIE stem **āp-*. So, with various levels of confidence: W. Prellwitz (1892) sub ἠπεδανός; *Boisacq* sub ἠπεδανός; A. Walde (1927–1932) 47; E. Risch (1937) 106; *Pokorny*

new proposals have been accompanied by disclaimers confessing serious doubts: *originis dubiae, unklar, incertain, tout cela reste en l'air, the meaning is unclear.*

I think the etymology of ἠπεδανός is very close to that proposed by the ancients: ἠ-privative, followed by -πους- or -πεδ- and the suffix -ανος. This is morphologically attractive (-πεδ- is a common infix, -ανος a common suffix), and the contexts of the earliest three attestations lend strong support to this meaning (i.e., 'without the use of one's foot,' hence 'slow'). But while this interpretation makes good sense morphologically and contextually, there remains a rather considerable phonological and prosodic difficulty: it overlooks the short vowel quantity of ἀ-privative, which would not be metrically sound here. I am unaware of a single certain case in the Greek language where the short ἀ-privative shows up as a long ἠ-privative—although ἀ-privative is lengthened *metri causa* in words that could not otherwise be accommodated by the dactylic meter (ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματος, ἀνέφελος), and initial α, though not ἀ-privative, does show up as η for the same reason in such words as ἠγάθεος for ἀγάθεος, ἠμαθόεις for ἀμαθόεις, ἠνεμόεις for ἀνεμόεις, ἠνορέη for ἀνορέη, ἠλιτόμηνος for ἀλιτόμηνος, ἠγερέθονται for ἀγερέθονται, and ἠερέθονται for ἀερέθονται.[27]

A ready solution presents itself: the difficulty can be resolved by regarding the ἠ- of ἠπεδανός not as a transformation of ἀ-privative but rather of the etymologically related but distinct privative prefix νη- (as in νηκερδής 'unprofitable,' νήποινος 'uncompensated,' and νηπενθής 'without pain'). More specifically, the adjective ἠπεδανός appears to be the result of a metanalysis of νηπεδανός, not the result of an unprecedented mutation of ἀπεδανός. The considerable corpus of extant epic verse provides a prism through which to search for plausible collocations of words from the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache* where a junctural metanalysis could have been phonetically motivated.

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sub **ap*-, **āp*-; *Hofmann* sub ἠπεδανός; *GEW* sub ἠπεδανός; *DELG* sub ἠπεδανός. L. Deroy (1983) 20, takes a different tack, relating the η- of ἠπεδανός to the Latin prefix *ve*-, which can denote an imperfection owing to a deficiency in the word to which it is attached (e.g., Latin *vemens*). For some even more fanciful reconstructions (e.g., PIE **spad*- 'to swing toward'), see *Goebel* vol. 1, 255–261.

[27] Other forces in addition to metrical lengthening may have been at work in these latter cases as well: some may be abstractions from compound forms that are regularly lengthened; the lengthened present tense verbal forms may have developed by analogy from the augmented forms; some may simply be hyperionism.

One hypothetical collocation is particularly attractive:

ἀνδράσι νηπεδανοῖσι ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × ||

This would have been metanalyzed as:

ἀνδράσιν ἠπεδανοῖσι ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × ||

One may compare the Homeric and Hesiodic verse-beginning formulas:

ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × || (*Il.* 5.488, 17.158, 19.168, 19.232)
ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × || (*Od.* 1.349; Hesiod's *Scutum* 29, fr. 195.29)[28]

An equally likely metrical position for such a collocation is at verse-end:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ὑπ' ἀνδράσι νηπεδανοῖσι

This would have been metanalyzed as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἠπεδανοῖσι
(μετ', ἐν, σύν, παρ', ἐπ', ἀμ', and καί could substitute for ὑπ')

One may compare the Homeric and Hesiodic verse-end formulas:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν (*Il.* 5.641)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐσσομένοισιν (Hesiod's *Works and Days* 56)[29]

As the fates would have it, the collocation of ἀνδράσιν and ἠπεδανοῖσιν does survive in Greek epic verse, though late and in a different metrical position, in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 2.800:

τείσω προφρονέως· ἢ γὰρ θέμις ἠπεδανοῖσιν
ἀνδράσιν, εὖτ' ἄρξωσιν ἀρείονες ἄλλοι ὀφέλλειν.

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[28] Cf. the following verse-beginning formulas, among many more possibilities in later epic verse: ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισι (*Il.* 2.122); ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι (*Il.* 3.6); ἀνδράσιν Ἀργείοισιν (*Il.* 5.779); ἀνδράσιν ἡρώεσσιν (*Il.* 13.346); ἀνδράσιν ἐν δηΐοισιν (*Il.* 24.684); ἀνδράσι καὶ πλεόνεσσι (*Od.* 2.245); ἀνδράσι δὲ προτέροισιν (*Od.* 8.223); ἀνδράσιν ἐν πολλοῖσι (*Od.* 19.110).

[29] Cf. the following verse-end formulas, among many more possibilities in later epic verse: ὑπ' ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν (*Il.* 6.453); καὶ ἀνδράσι θηρευτῇσι (*Il.* 12.41); ὑπ' ἀνδράσι χειροτέροισιν (*Il.* 15.513); δάμη ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν (*Od.* 3.90); μίγεν ἀνδράσι Λωτοφάγοισιν (*Od.* 9.91); μετ' ἀνδράσι Λωτοφάγοισι (*Od.* 9.96); μετ' ἀνδράσι κουροτέροισι (*Od.* 21.310); μετ' ἀνδράσι δαιτυμόνεσσι (*Od.* 22.212); ἐν ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι (*Od.* 22.234); γένετ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσι (Hesiod's *Theogony* 512); πῆμ' ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῇσιν (Hesiod's *Works and Days* 82).

And in Oppian's *Halieutica*, a form of ἠπεδανός in the dative plural occurs twice in precisely the same metrical position as the verse-beginning hypothetical reconstruction (1.54, 5.663):

θριξὶ δ' ἐν ἠπεδανοῖσι παλιγνάμπτοιό τε χαλκοῦ
ὧδε γὰρ ἠπεδανοῖσι παριεμένου μελέεσσι

And finally, as it turns out, the hypothetical reconstructed form of the adjective with ν-, i.e., νηπεδανός, does actually occur in Greek, though only once and in a late source, in Oppian's description of the limbs of an Egyptian mongoose (νηπεδανοῖσι μέλεσσιν), apparently as a synonym for ἠπεδανός. So Oppian's *Cynegetica* 3.409:

Ἰχνεύμων βαιὸς μέν, ἀτὰρ μεγάλοισιν ὁμοίως
μέλπεσθαι θήρεσσι πανάξιος εἵνεκα βουλῆς
ἀλκῆς τε κρατερῆς ὑπὸ νηπεδανοῖσι μέλεσσιν.

It is remarkable that the biform ἠπεδανός appears in a nearly identical phrase (ἠπεδανοῖσι...μελέεσσι) in Oppian's *Halieutica* 5.663:

ὧδε γὰρ ἠπεδανοῖσι παριεμένου μελέεσσι
δείματι καὶ καμάτῳ θυμαλγέϊ γυῖα λέλυνται.

In fact the scholia to Oppian (on *Cynegetica* 1.533, 3.409; *Halieutica* 1.54, 1.767, 3.480) equate νηπεδανοῖσι in meaning to ἠπεδανοῖσι:

Νηπεδανοῖς· ἀσθενοῖσιν.
Ἠπεδανοῖσι· ἀσθενέσιν.

Let us return, though, to the pre-Homeric period. Given the existence of a nu-ephelkystikon in a close juncture language, the phonetic motivation for an early formulaic epic phrase such as ὑπ' ἀνδράσι νηπεδανοῖσι to be metanalyzed as ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἠπεδανοῖσι is obvious. The metanalysis would be more plausible, though, if there were in addition a semantic motivation—as we saw in the case of the metanalysis of ἔχεν ἤδυμος ὕπνος as ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος, where a popular association with νη + δύνω ('inescapable') or νηδύς ('womb') provided a temptation to metanalyze on semantic as well as phonetic grounds. Perhaps in the case of ἠπεδανός 'weak and weary' it was a popular association with the ubiquitous, though etymologically unrelated, epic adjective ἤπιος 'gentle and mild,' or one of its many compounds. But these details are well beyond the realm of proof, or even of persuasive conjecture. What is clear is that if a metanalysis of νηπεδανός as ἠπεδανός occurred, it was completed during the pre-Homeric period, and by Homer's own

time it had escaped the phonetic environment that had created it (e.g., ὑπ᾽ ἀνδράσι[ν] [ν]ηπεδανοῖσι) to become a word in its own right (ἠπεδανός), in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, however its meaning was construed by Homer and his audience.

We have now considered two examples of neologisms—νήδυμος and ἠπεδανός—generated by the epic tradition through junctural metanalysis, one by prothesis of nu-ephelkystikon, the other by aphaeresis of a word-initial 'nu' that occurred after a word that could potentially, but did not in fact, end with a nu-ephelkystikon.

νήκεστος / ἤκεστος

The next example, the adjective ἤκεστος, is another representative of aphaeresis of 'nu,' but this time not as a result of a word-initial 'nu' being wrongly construed as a nu-ephelkystikon of the previous word, but rather as a result of a phonetic ambiguity caused by the juxtaposition of a word with a declensional form ending in a 'nu' being followed by a word beginning with 'nu.' This adjective appears only three times in Homer, and elsewhere in the Greek language only in later commentary on these Homeric verses. All three occurrences are in Book 6 of the *Iliad* (6.94, 275, 309), in the context of the Trojans' promise of a sacrifice to Athena in return for saving Troy. It always occurs embedded in a formulaic phrase at the beginning of the hexameter:

ἤνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν (ἱερεύσομεν) / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×

The word ἤνις itself is of uncertain meaning; it apparently means 'calf' (i.e., 'yearling,' related to ἔνος, ἐνιαυτός).[30] It is an i-stem—probably long 'i'[31]—so this is the feminine accusative plural form here. It appears

[30] This was the ancient view—scholia on *Il.* 1.1 and *Od.* 3.382, *Hesychius* sub ἤνις, *Suda* sub ἤνις, *Et. Magn.* sub ἤνις, *Eustathius* on *Il.* 6.94, 10.292, and *Od.* 3.382—and it has been widely accepted by modern lexicographers: *Cunliffe* sub ἤνις; *LSJ* sub ἤνις; *Pokorny* sub **en*-; T. Tzannetatos (1960–1961); *DELG* sub ἤνις; *Kirk*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 6.94; *S. West*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 3.382; *LfgE* sub ἦνις. But ἤνις has invited other interpretations, from one extremity of age to the other: related to Latin *iu-vencus* or *iu-venis* 'young' (so *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 3.382); related to PIE **sen*-, Latin *senex* 'old' (so P. Kretschmer [1890] 343 and *Boisacq* sub ἤνις). For the possibility that ἦνις (note accent) may itself be a false division of νῆνις (= νεᾶνις 'young') in the phrase BONHNIN, see O. Szemerényi (1965) 6–12.

[31] It scans as a long 'i' even in the accusative singular in its two other occurrences in Homer—*Il.* 10.292 and *Od.* 3.382 (βοῦν ἤνῑν εὐρυμέτωπον)—as well as in these three occurrences as an accusative plural (from *-*ins*) in Book 6 of the *Iliad*. But there is a

in the accusative singular ἤνιν twice elsewhere in Homer (*Il.* 10.292, *Od.* 3.382), also in the context of a sacrifice, but without the adjective ἤκεστος:

> σοὶ δ᾽ αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἤνιν εὐρυμέτωπον

But what does the adjective ἤκεστος mean? The ancient lexicographers equated it with ἀδάμαστος ('untamed'), both from the context of the Homeric passages and on etymological grounds: ἀ-privative + κεστος (from κεντέω), i.e., 'ungoaded' (i.e., 'to sacrifice ungoaded calves').[32] Many modern lexicographers have concurred.[33] But while this interpretation makes good sense contextually, it overlooks the short vowel quantity of ἀ-privative, which, as observed earlier with respect to a similar proposal for ἠπεδανός, would not be metrically sound here. Hence, some have sought the etymology of the adjective ἤκεστος elsewhere: ἠκή, ἀκμή, ἀκμαῖος (i.e., 'in its prime');[34] ἠκή, ἀκωκή (i.e., 'with pointed horns');[35] or even σηκός, σηκάζω (i.e., 'raised in a pen').[36]

I think the adjective's true meaning is close to that proposed by the ancients, 'untamed,' or more precisely 'ungoaded,' but, like νηπεδανός (above), it is not from ἀ-privative + κεστος (from κεντέω), but rather

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long and reputable tradition of regarding the 'i' as short, and therefore accenting the word as a properispomenon (ἦνις): so *Herodian*—Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς Προσῳδίας 71 and Περὶ Παθῶν 333 (= scholia on *Il.* 10.292)—says (in agreement) that Ptolemaios, son of Oroandos, accented the word ἦνις, properispomenon, on the analogy of μῆνις; then he says (in disagreement) that Tyrannio makes the word an oxytone, with a long 'i' like πόλιν and μάντιν, on account of the meter. The majority of Homeric manuscripts accent the word as ἦνιν, with a short iota, in spite of the metrical difficulty it presents. Most modern lexicographers and editors have followed the opinion of Tyrannio and the reading of the minority of manuscripts, i.e., ἤνῑν, with a long 'i': so J. Wackernagel (1955–1979) 1171–1172; *Schwyzer* I 463; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 207–208; *S. West*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 3.382; *Hainsworth*, *Iliad Commentary* on 10.292. Others have followed the opinion of Herodian and the reading of the majority of manuscripts, i.e., ἦνιν, with a short 'i,' summoning as evidence other instances in Homer of an apparently trochaic fourth foot (e.g., βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο): so F.S. Sommer (1909) 210; T. Stifler (1924) 345–346; O. Szemerényi (1965) 6–12; *LfgE* sub ἦνις.

[32] So scholia on *Il.* 6.94; *Herodian Schematismi Homerici* sub ἠκέστας; *Hesychius* sub ἠκέστας; *Suda* sub ἠκέστης; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 6.94 and *Od.* 3.382.

[33] So E.E. Seilor (1872) sub ἤκεστος; *Ebeling* sub ἤκεστος; *Autenrieth* sub ἤκεστος; *Cunliffe* sub ἤκεστος; *LSJ* sub ἤκεστος; T. Tzannetatos (1960–1961); *LfgE* sub ἤκεστος.

[34] So E.R. Wharton (1882) sub ἤκεστος; W. Prellwitz (1892) sub ἠκή; *Boisacq* sub ἠκή; A. Walde (1927–1932) 31; *Hofmann* sub ἠκή; *GEW* sub ἤκεστος.

[35] So *GEW* sub ἤκεστος.

[36] So O. Szemerényi, (1965) 6–12, who supposes a misdivision into ἤνις ἠκέστας of an original ἤνις σηκέστας.

from the privative prefix νη- + κεστος (as in νηκερδής 'unprofitable,' etc.). E. Schwyzer pointed the way to this etymology already in 1931, when he proposed a hypothetical singular formula ἦνιν νηκέστην, which through a process of false division developed into the plural ἦνις ἠκέστας.[37] But Schwyzer, like Leumann a few years later in his *Homerische Wörter*, was thinking in terms of post-Homeric texts, and post-Homeric scribes, and post-Homeric visual errors (a scribe's failure to geminate a consonant in the *scriptio continua*). It seems to me that we should be thinking in terms of pre-Homeric songs, and pre-Homeric bards, and pre-Homeric acoustic errors.

I visualize the evolution of the collocation as follows. Someone, perhaps an aspiring bard in the 9th c., while listening to a performance of epic verse, misheard the old and ritualistic formula ἦνιν νηκέστην ἱερευσέμεν 'to sacrifice an ungoaded yearling' as ἦνιν ἠκέστην ἱερευσέμεν. This mishearing was motivated by at least two, and perhaps three, factors: phonetically, by the almost identical sound of the two collocations; semantically, by a folk etymological association with ἠκή and its cognates (i.e., the 'peak' of life), perhaps combined with a taboo attached to the etymologically unrelated homophone νήκεστος, from νη-ἀκέομαι 'incurable' (cf. Hesiod's *Works and Days* 283), in such a sacred context (i.e., 'to sacrifice an 'incurable' yearling'!); and metrically, by discomfort with the overlengthened second syllable of ἦνῑν νηκέστην (i.e., long both by nature and position). Later, when the same bard was composing his own songs and had need of a plural version of the formula, he adeptly modified ἦνιν ἠκέστην ἱερευσέμεν (ἱερεύσομεν) to create the version of the formula that we find three times in Book 6 of the *Iliad*: ἦνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν (ἱερεύσομεν).

To sum up, we have now considered three representative examples of neologisms—νήδυμος, ἠπεδανός, and ἤκεστος—self-generated by the epic tradition during the oral stage of transmission as a result of acoustic misdivision, i.e., junctural metanalysis, the first two on account of ambiguity regarding the use or non-use of nu-ephelkystikon, the third on account of ambiguity created by the juxtaposition of a word ending in 'nu' followed by one beginning with 'nu.' I believe that these

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[37] E. Schwyzer (1931) 213; in apparent agreement with Schwyzer are M. Leumann (1950) 53; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 14–15 and *DELG* sub ἤκεστος; *GEW* sub ἤκεστος; A. Hoekstra (1965) 120; *Kirk*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 6.94. Schwyzer acknowledges that his idea was anticipated by J. Barnes, in his 1711 edition of the *Iliad*, where νηκέστας is proposed as an alternate reading for the three passages in Book 6.

three examples reveal only the tip of the iceberg; below the surface of our Homeric texts I think there remain to be discovered many other etymologically obscure words that will prove to have been created by junctural metanalysis involving the sound /n/ during the long and rich development of pre-Homeric epic diction. I examine at length two others in chapters to follow: the toponym Νῖσα, a yet to be identified Boeotian town listed in the *Iliadic* Catalogue of Ships, which I believe goes back to an earlier toponym Ϝῖσος, which was metanalyzed in a formulaic phrase such as ὅς τ' ἔχε Ϝῖσον > ὅς τ' ἔχεν ʾΙσον > ὅς τ' ἔχε Νῖσον; and the Mycenaean and Homeric name for a bathtub, ἀσάμινθος, the root of which I believe goes back to an Akkadian loan word *namsû* 'washbowl, washing tub,' to which was attached the Minoan infix *-nth-* followed by regular Mycenaean Greek case endings, the whole of which was then metanalyzed in a formulaic epic phrase such as ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον > ἀργυρέαν ἀσάμινθον.

CHAPTER FIVE

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN HOMER OWING TO MOVABLE AND FINAL SIGMA

Introduction

As we have seen, nu-ephelkystikon served as a useful mechanism for avoiding hiatus in Homeric Greek—as in Greek generally. Movable sigma, as for example in οὕτω(ς), πολλάκι(ς), and ἰθύ(ς), served the same function. But since movable sigma was substantially less frequent than nu-ephelkystikon, being found in Homer only in a handful of words, it was also probably a much less common trigger for junctural metanalysis. Regular final sigma, on the other hand, ubiquitous as it was in the Greek declensional and conjugational systems, as for example in most accusative plural nominal forms and in many second-person singular verbal forms, as well as in many adverbial suffixes, was probably at least as common a trigger for junctural metanalyses as regular final nu.

Movable sigma at the end of a word is a paradigmatically Greek feature, although analogous *s*'s can be found in some other Indo-European languages: e.g., Latin *bis* 'twice,' *abs* 'away from,' *mox* 'soon.' It appears in Homer in: ἐκ/ἐξ, οὕτω(ς), πολλάκι(ς), ἀμφί(ς), μέχρι(ς), ἄχρι(ς), μεσσηγύ(ς), ἀτρέμα(ς), ἰθύ(ς), and εὐθύ(ς) (this last form only in the Homeric Hymns). It must originally have had some adverbial function, but at least by the time of Homer it had lost its semantic value. The choice as to whether or not to use it appears to have been motivated predominantly by phonetics: i.e., to avoid hiatus between words. On rare occasions the choice, as more commonly with nu-ephelkystikon, was motivated by prosodic considerations: i.e., to make a preceding naturally light syllable heavy before a consonant (the presence of sigma in ἀμφίς, ἰθύς, and μεσσηγύς serves this purpose in Homer); to make a preceding naturally heavy syllable light before a vowel (the absence of sigma in οὕτω occasionally serves this purpose in Homer). This use of movable sigma for prosodic purposes is increasingly common after Homer, especially in iambic poetry.

Regular final sigma, on the other hand, was a common feature of the wider Indo-European family of languages, as, for example, in the

many nominative and genitive singular and nominative and accusative plural Proto-Indo-European case endings. It is not likely sheer coincidence that biforms with and without initial sigma appear quite commonly from the earliest stages of the long history of the Greek language: e.g., σκεδάννυμι/κεδάννυμι 'scatter,' σμικρός/μικρός 'small,' σῦς/ὗς 'swine.' Such biforms may owe their existence to various linguistic developments: broader phonotactic considerations of early Proto-Indo-European; inconsistent articulation of later substratal and adstratal loan words in Greek; failure of some Greek dialects to change an initial sigma to the spiritus asper. But at least some of these many biforms are doubtlessly the result of junctural metanalysis triggered by the phonetic ambiguity arising from a word's juxtaposition with a final sigma of a preceding word. Hence we can begin to detect possible cases of junctural metanalysis in as early a period as that of Indo-European unity, and then follow the process through the long history of the Greek language: Proto-Greek and Mycenaean, Homeric, Classical and Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Modern.

Proto-Indo-European

One cannot help but be struck by the many biforms with and without initial *s-* in the various Indo-European languages: e.g., Sanskrit *tigmá-* 'sharp' and Greek στίγμα 'tattoo'; Sanskrit *phéna-* and Latin *spuma* 'foam'; Greek λείχω and Old Norse *sleikja* 'lick,' Latin *tundo* and Gothic *stautan* 'push'; Latin *laxus* and English *slack*; German *niesen* and English *sneeze*. Sometimes these biforms exist within a single daughter language or language family: Sanskrit *stanayitnú-* 'thunder' and *tányati* 'to thunder'; Greek στέγος and τέγος 'roof, house'; Latin *scortum* and *corium* 'skin'; Old High German *snurring* and *narro* 'joker'; Old Norse *skjalla* and *gjalla* 'resound'; English *smelt* and *melt*.[1]

These outcomes in the Indo-European daughter languages have expectedly resulted in a plethora of reconstructed PIE biform roots such as: *(*s*)*tenH*$_2$- 'thunder,' *(*s*)*pek-* 'see,' *(*s*)*teg-* 'cover,' *(*s*)*neH*$_1$- 'sew,' *(*s*)*penH*$_1$- 'weave,' *(*s*)*pH*$_2$*oim-* 'foam,' *(*s*)*ker-* 'cut,' *(*s*)*ner-* 'grumble,' *(*s*)*per-* 'scatter,' *(*s*)*teu-* 'strike,' *(*s*)*meld-* 'melt,' *(*s*)*mer-* 'remember,'

[1] For a concise description of the phenomenon of variable *s-* in Proto-Indo-European, along with a list of some of the most pertinent bibliographical resources, see O. Szemerényi (1999) 93–94.

*(*s*)*teig*- 'sharp,' *(*s*)*leH*$_2$*g*- 'slack,' *(*s*)*leigh*- 'lick.'[2] This fickle **s*- was early on called by the linguists who discovered it *s-impurum*, denoting its resistance to any perceptible rule or pattern; it is now generally called *movable s* or *s-mobile*—not to be confused with Greek *movable sigma*, which occurs only at word-end and has a different etymological origin.

Some have seen in these biforms a semantically meaningful PIE **s*-prefix (adverbial, intensive, aspectual, etc.), or at least a relic thereof (since its semantic force is just barely, if at all, perceptible).[3] But this theory poses many difficulties and raises rather more questions than it answers. Why is there no independent evidence for *s*- as a prefix? Why is no consistent semantic value—or, in fact, any value—perceptible in the supposed prefix? Why is the supposed prefix much more often lost from rather than added to the words in question? Why does the supposed prefix occur almost exclusively in words beginning with a consonant, mostly voiced stops, or with a resonant /m, n, r, l/, but rarely, if ever, in words beginning with a vowel (originally an initial laryngeal) or with a glide /w/ or /y/?[4] All of these matters, and especially the last, point to a phonological rather than semantic origin for these biforms.

These biforms likely have their origin in sentence phonotactics combined with a very early type of junctural metanalysis: in the loss, and occasionally addition, of *s*- owing to sandhi considerations at word boundaries (i.e., 'euphonics'). The most common avenue in Proto-Indo-European for such a junctural metanalysis would have been in the combination of a nominal case form with -*s* at word-end followed by a verb with *s*- at word-beginning—a very common syntactical arrangement in Indo-European languages. Proto-Indo-European was inimical to gemination, and especially to geminate *-*ss*- that extended across morpheme and word boundaries. So at morpheme boundaries *-*ss*- was degeminated to -*s*- (e.g., **H*$_1$*essi* > Sanskrit *asi* 'you are'). And

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[2] I count just shy of one-hundred such biforms among the PIE roots catalogued in *Pokorny*. For shorter but more recent lists, with further explication, including consideration of laryngeals, see H. Rix (1998) 464–558 and M. Southern (1999) 20–140.

[3] So J. Schrijnen (1891), (1937); T. Siebs (1904); H.A. Hirt (1927) 318–319, 325–333; H.M. Hoenigswald (1952); A. Erhart (1966); E.A. Makajev (1970) 217–253; J. Kurylowicz (1971).

[4] Perhaps the strongest candidate for a *(*s*)*V*-, or more precisely *(*s*)*HV*-, biform is the word for 'tear': Sanskrit *áśru*- and Hittite *ishahru*-, pointing back to a PIE alternation *(*s*)*H*$_2$*akru*-. But this etymology is complicated by the forms in **d*- such as Greek δάκρυ. On the further complications of this etymology, see M. Southern (1999) 93–98.

at word boundaries *-*s#s*- was degeminated to *-*s#Ø*-, with the loss usually occurring at the morphologically less important word initial **s*-. E.g., **deiuos stegeti* 'the sky-god covers' would have been pronounced /deiuostegeti/, creating some ambiguity over whether the verb began with **st*- or **t*-. Since the word-final *-*s* of **deiuos* was morphologically significant, the initial **s*- of the verb would have been the one to give way in this case: hence, eventually, the Greek biforms στέγος and τέγος 'roof, house.' Similarly **wl̥kʷoms spek̑yont* 'they saw the wolves' would have been pronounced /wl̥kʷomspekyont/, creating some ambiguity over whether the verb began with **sp*- or **p*-: hence, eventually, Latin *specio* but Sanskrit *páśyati* 'see.'[5]

Many scholars have abandoned the prefix theory utterly in favor of a phonological explanation, whether through sentence sandhi, or simple metanalysis, or a combination of the two.[6] What needs to be observed for our purposes is that since *s*-mobile is so commonly and broadly attested in the Indo-European daughter languages the phenomenon must have been an original Proto-Indo-European process rather than a series of independent occurrences after the various language groups had split off.

Greek

The comparative evidence for Proto-Indo-European treatment of *-*s#s*- marshaled above offers important analogical support for the fundamental hypothesis posed in this work: namely, that metanalysis at word boundaries was a productive force in the creation of new forms and words in Homeric Greek, as well as throughout the long history of the Greek vernacular generally. But this evidence from Proto-Indo-European also somewhat complicates the analysis of Greek biforms with and without initial sigma. For all such biforms in Greek one must weigh at least two options: whether they already existed in Proto-Indo-European or whether they arose spontaneously and independently in Greek. Further complicating the issue, as we shall see, is the possibility

[5] The first illustration is drawn from M. Southern (1999) 163, the second from A.L. Sihler (1995) 169.
[6] So F. Edgerton (1958); T. Burrow (1973) 80; W.P. Lehmann (1993) 135–136; K. Shields (1996); M. Southern (1999) 141–182, though with some reservations, and with at least a nod toward the existence of a functional **s*- prefix.

that some of these biforms are the Greek outcomes of early loan words, both substratal loans from the indigenous language(s) and adstratal loans from Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Near East. Owing to the paucity of evidence, the verdict must remain open in many cases.

We should probably attribute to phonological resegmentation in Proto-Indo-European the Greek biforms στέγος and τέγος 'roof, house' from *(*s*)*teg*-; στένω and τέννω (Lesbian) 'moan' from *(*s*)*tenH*$_2$-; στέρφος and τέρφος 'skin' from *(*s*)*terbh*-; στυπάζω and τυπάζω 'strike' from *(*s*)*teu*-; σκαρθμός and καρθμός 'leaping' from *(*s*)*kerd*- (cf. Greek (σ)κορδίνημα 'stretching'); σκαμβός 'bent' and κάμπτω 'bend' from *(*s*)*kamb*-; σκέραφος and κέραφος "a 'cutting' remark" and σκερβόλλω and κερβόλλω "make a 'cutting' remark" from *(*s*)*ker*-; σμυκτήρ and μυκτήρ 'nostrils' and σμύσσεται and μύσσεται 'blow the nostrils' from *(*s*)*meuk*-.

On the other hand, a fairly substantial number of Greek biforms with and without initial *s*- appear to be substratal loan words rather than Proto-Indo-European. Like those of Proto-Indo-European origin these biforms often involve *s*- before a voiceless stop or *m*. As would be expected of indigenous loans, these are predominately words for native flora and fauna. E.J. Furnée has proposed a substratal origin for many—surely too many—such biforms.[7] Of these the following seem the most plausible: (σ)κορδύλη 'tuna fish'; (σ)κι(ν)δάφη 'vixen'; (σ)τρύχνον (a plant name); (σ)τριγχός 'the cornice of a wall'; (σ)μῆριγξ 'a type of acanthus'; (σ)μῖλαξ 'oak tree'; (σ)μίλος 'yew tree'; (σ)μύραινα 'eel.' Forms with 'prothetic' α-, another common feature of substratal loan words, occur in some biforms, or, more accurately, triforms, pointing even more clearly to a substratal origin: (σ)καλαβώτης (ἀσκαλαβώτης) 'lizard'; (σ)καμωνία (ἀσκαμωνία) (a plant used as a purgative); σκελίς/γέλγις (ἄγλις) 'garlic.' Biforms with the common substratal suffix -νθ can also be placed with some confidence in this category: (σ)μήρινθος 'string.' And I would add the following to Furnée's list: (σ)κόρνος 'myrtle plant'; (σ)κόνυζα 'inula plant'; (σ)καφώρη 'vixen'; (σ)πατάγγης 'sea-urchin'; (σ)μῦρος 'eel.' Also, because it is a related matter, there should be included here the adstratal loan words from Africa, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Near East, such as: σκίγκος/κίκερος 'African or

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[7] E.J. Furnée (1972) 390. He catalogs twenty-six biforms of substratal origin, but some of these go back to established Proto-Indo-European roots, some are of Egyptian or Near Eastern origin, and some are better explained as later Greek metanalyses.

Indian crocodile'; Σφίξ/Φίξ/Σφίγξ 'Sphinx'; σμύρνη/μύρρα 'myrrh,' (σ)μάραγδος 'emerald'; (σ)μάραγνα 'whip'; (σ)κινδαψός 'a four-stringed lute'; (σ)μύδρος 'molten iron.'

Yet, we may—with due reservations—attribute tentatively to Greek itself those biforms that occur uniquely and independently in Greek: i.e., those biforms of which at least one of the two components has left no trace in other Indo-European languages and that also do not give any indication of being loan words. Examples of such biforms can be observed in many periods of the long history of the Greek language.

Proto-Greek and Mycenaean

The Linear B tablets offer little help in a search for Proto-Greek and Mycenaean *s*- and *s*-less biforms, partly owing to their limited vocabulary but more so owing to their spelling conventions of consonant clusters whose first element is *s*-: *ke-re-ha* for σκέλεα; *pe-ma* for σπέρμα; *ta-to-mo* for σταθμός. Some Proto-Greek and Mycenaean biforms may lie hidden within the ambiguous spelling conventions of the Linear B syllabary. Moreover, it is conceivable that *s*- and *s*-less biforms in the early Greek epic texts, which usually offer the earliest attestation of these words in alphabetic form, owe their origins to earlier metanalysis in the vernacular of the Proto-Greek and Mycenaean periods. It is possible, for example, that the Homeric biforms σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι 'scatter' arose independently from Proto-Greek metanalysis rather than being avatars of a PIE biform **(s)kH$_2$ed-*: while the *s*- form is widespread in the Indo-European daughter languages, the *s*-less form occurs elsewhere only in Tocharian A and B *kät-* 'strew,' where it is variously interpretable. Likewise the Homeric biforms σμικρός and μικρός 'small,' may have originated from Proto-Greek metanalysis rather than from a PIE biform **(s)mik-*: the *s*-form appears to be the older of the two and may be represented in Old High German *smāhi* 'small' and Old English *smicre* 'elegant,' but other than in Greek an *s*-less form can be found only in the rather unconvincing Latin cognate *mica* 'crumb.' As for the perplexing Homeric biforms σῦς and ὗς 'swine,' the former of which can be traced back to PIE **sūs or *suHs* and appears in *su-qo-ta* in Linear B, many possibilities present themselves, and Proto-Greek metanalysis remains one of them.

Homeric Greek

But it is also possible that the Homeric biforms σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι, σμικρός and μικρός, and σῦς and ὗς were generated by the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache* itself, during the oral/aural transmission of the epics, perhaps arising initially for phonological reasons (i.e., metanalysis) and then being retained as metrically useful alternatives. As we have seen, the epic *Kunstsprache* and the vernacular were not utterly independent of each other; a symbiotic relationship existed between them. It is usually very difficult, therefore, to distinguish biforms that may have arisen uniquely in the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache* from those that may have arisen in the Greek vernacular generally and then been incorporated into the poetic language.

Yet occasionally our Homeric texts themselves reveal possible avenues for the metanalysis of *s*- and *s*-less biforms in the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache*. An argument for such metanalysis can be made, for example, in the case of the Homeric noun κάπετος 'ditch,' which appears to be a metanalysis of σκάπετος 'ditch,' a deverbative of the wide-spread σκάπτω 'dig.' The *s*- form can be observed in cognates in many Indo-European languages and can be traced back to PIE *(*s*)*kap*-, but the *s*-less form, which alone occurs in Homer, is attested with certainty only in Greek. Homeric diction offers a clear avenue for metanalysis in the formula ὄχθας καπέτοιο βαθείης 'the banks of the deep ditch' (*Il.* 15.356), which could be a metanalyzed version of an earlier and more etymologically explicable ὄχθας σκαπέτοιο βαθείης.

In a similar vein, as we observed in the previous chapter on nu-ephelkystikon and final nu, it is possible that the semantically difficult adjective ἤκεστος, which occurs three times in Book 6 of the *Iliad* (6.94, 275, 309) embedded in the formulaic phrase ἤνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν (ἱερεύσομεν), is related to σηκός, σηκάζω (i.e., 'raised in a pen').[8] An earlier formula ἤνις σηκέστας ἱερευσέμεν, meaning 'to sacrifice yearlings that have been raised in a pen,' would have been metanalyzed as the Homeric ἤνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν. Yet, while this is conceivable, I prefer, as I have argued in the previous chapter, to reconstruct the earlier formula as a singular ἤνιν νηκέστην ἱερευσέμεν 'to sacrifice an ungoaded yearling,' from the privative prefix νη- + κεστος, which after

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[8] So O. Szemerényi (1965) 6–12.

metanalysis as ἤνιν ἠκέστην spawned the plural form ἤνις ἠκέστας that we find in Homer.

Possibly some Homeric toponyms and ethnics fall under this category of metanalysis: the Trojan river (Σ)κάμανδρος, the Locrian town (Σ)κάρφη, the Dodonian tribe (Σ)ελλοί. This last biform—whether Σελλοί or Ἑλλοί—is a particularly attractive candidate for metanalysis, for, among other possibilities, the metanalysis of an earlier Ἑλλοί as Σελλοί could have occurred in a simple prepositional phrase of the type that is so common with names of people and places in the epic diction: εἰς Ἑλλούς > εἰς Σελλούς; ἐξ Ἑλλῶν > ἐκ Σελλῶν. Or the metanalysis could have occurred in one of the epithet plus noun constructions so ubiquitous in epic verse: ἱεροὺς Ἑλλούς > ἱεροὺς Σελλούς; Δωδωναίους Ἑλλούς > Δωδωναίους Σελλούς. I consider at some length in a chapter to follow the possibility that the phonetic ambiguity surrounding movable and final sigma triggered the metanalysis of several Homeric toponyms, and I devote an entire chapter to the very interesting biforms of the ethnic (Σ)έλλοι.

Finally, I propose that the mysterious Homeric adjective σῶκος, an epithet of the god Hermes, is simply a manifestation of the common adjective ὠκύς 'swift,' which had been metanalyzed in the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache* in a formulaic phrase in which it was positioned after a word ending in -ς. I devote an entire chapter later in this work to unraveling how this happened: the obscure combination of Homeric epithets of Hermes σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72) was the outcome of a metanalysis of an earlier formula containing the collocation -ς ὠκύς (e.g., – ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ὠκύς ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ×). Hence the two epithets of Hermes in the formula σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς originally meant, plausibly enough, 'swift' (ὠκύς) and 'good-running' (ἐρι 'very' + οὔνιος 'running').

Classical and Hellenistic Greek

Metanalysis at word juncture owing to the phonetic ambiguity associated with movable and final sigma continued to be a source of new and peculiar forms in the Greek language well after the Homeric period. One category of biforms that arose in the Classical and Hellenistic vernacular almost certainly owes its origin to junctural metanalysis in which the final sigma of one word attached itself to the beginning of the word that followed. This group comprises several vulgar expressions

of allegro speech: (σ)κορακίζω, (σ)πλεκόω, (σ)πέλεθος, and possibly (σ)κονίζω.

The verb σκορακίζω 'treat contemptuously,' along with its nominal and adjectival forms σκορακισμός and σκορακιστέον, found already in Classical Greek (Demosthenes) but increasingly common in the Hellenistic period (Philo, Plutarch, Lucian), owes its formation to metanalysis of a popular imprecation often uttered on the old comic stage ἐς (εἰς) κόρακας 'to the crows!' (Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aristophanes, etc.). That is to say, ἐς κόρακας came to be pronounced *'σκόρακας in allegro speech, which in turn spawned the denominative verb σκορακίζω.[9]

The Aristophanic verb σπλεκόω 'fuck' (*Lysistrata* 152, *Plutus* 1082),[10] along with its nominal form σπλέκωμα (scholia on *Plutus* 1082),[11] apparently has similar but more vulgar origins, owing its formation to metanalysis of the expression ἐς (εἰς) πλέκος 'to the wicker-mat,' presumably a familiar spot for sexual congress in antiquity.[12]

The rare noun σπέλεθος 'shit' (Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 595–96;[13] *Acharnians* 1170 [some mss.]),[14] which has an even less common biform πέλεθος (*Acharnians* 1170 [some mss.]; Hesychian πελλία· σπέλεθοι), may owe its formation to metanalysis of a similar imprecation ἐς (εἰς) πέλεθον 'to the shit!' Or it may be a metanalysis of a compound, such as ὑσπέλεθος 'pig-shit'[15] or βουσπέλεθος 'cow-shit.'[16] An analogous development is found in Latin **mus-scerda* > *mu-scerda* 'mouse-shit,' misanalyzed as *mus-cerda*, hence, by analogy, *su-cerda* 'pig-shit' and *ovi-cerda* 'sheep-shit.'

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9 This etymology has been recognized since antiquity—e.g., *Hesychius* sub σκορακίζει; so also *Schwyzer* I 413; *DELG* sub κόραξ.

10 Some mss. read πλεκόω at *Lysistrata* 152. The compound form διασπλεκόω occurs at *Plutus* 1082.

11 Mistakenly spelled σπέκλωμα in the scholia on *Plutus* 1082.

12 So *Schwyzer* I 334, 413; *GEW* sub σπλεκόω; *DELG* sub πλέκω; J. Henderson (1991) 35, 154.

13 So all mss., but according to the scholia on the passage σπέλεθος is mistakenly written for πέλεθος.

14 Cf. the 5th c. B.C. comic poet Hegemon, Hesychius (πελλία· σπέλεθοι; σπέλληξι· σπελέθοις), and other later lexicographers.

15 Julius Pollux says that pig-dung is called χοίρων ὑσπέλεθον, and Dio Cassius also uses the term.

16 *DELG* sub σπέλεθος regards the form with σ- the proper form and thinks this is a case of PIE *s*-mobile, but there exists no evidence for this. *GED* sub σπέλεθος considers it of substratal origin simply on the basis of the *s*- variation. Moeris *Lexicon Atticum* sub σπέλεθος attributes the biforms to dialectal differences, πέλεθος being Attic, σπέλεθος Hellenic.

Perhaps the Byzantine-Modern Greek σκόνη 'dust' and σκονίζω 'to powder, dust' is in like manner related to Ancient Greek κόνις 'dust.' The expression ἐς (εἰς) κόνιν meaning 'to the dust, i.e., to death' was used from the ancient period and became especially common in Jewish and Christian literature. It is possible that the metanalysis had already occurred as early as the 6th c. B.C., from which period survives a Laconian inscription recording the adverb ἀσσκονικτεί 'without raising dust' (with alpha-privative).[17]

Interestingly, this type of metanalysis of vulgar expressions in allegro speech is already familiar to us from our consideration in an earlier chapter of metanalysis in the modern languages: for example in English *Zounds*! for *God's Wounds*! and *Drat*! for *God rot*!, where the metanalysis offers a means to avoid a collocation that might be regarded as taboo.

Byzantine and Modern Greek

Another category of *s*- and *s*-less biforms, mostly of later provenance, appears to have arisen owing to metanalysis involving the final sigma of a preceding definite article: τῆς, τοῖς, ταῖς, τάς, τούς. There was very little, if any, phonetic distinction, for example, between the pronunciation of τῆς στροφῆς 'of the turn' and τῆς τροφῆς 'of the food.' It is not possible to date precisely those metanalyses that arose as a result of phonetic ambiguity associated with the definite article, but it can be said with some confidence that it was because of this very ambiguity that sometime between antiquity and the modern period the following metanalyses occurred: Ancient βῶλος > Modern σβῶλος 'clod of earth'; Ancient κάνθαρος > Modern σκάθαρος 'scarab'; Ancient κύπτω > Modern σκύβω 'bow, bend'; Ancient φαντάζω > Modern σφαντάζω 'make visible.'[18] The deformation of some Greek toponyms during the medieval period appears to owe its origin to the same phenomenon:

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[17] See J. Chadwick (1996) 55. The inscription runs: "Akmatidas the Spartan having been victorious dedicated these five ἀσσκονικτεί."

[18] N.P. Andriotes (1951), under the respective articles, attributes these *s*- forms to what he calls 'synekphora' of a final -*s* of a preceding article (τῆς, τάς, τούς). Several other *s*-forms that Andriotes mentions have proven in fact to be ancient.

e.g., Σκύμβος (ancient Gomphi in Thessaly) from τοὺς Γόμφους > τοὺς Σκόμφους > Σκύμβος.[19]

A related category of Byzantine and Modern biforms entails a preposition plus definite article in such combinations as εἰς τόν and εἰς τήν; junctural metanalysis, in combination with the tendency of later Greek to drop initial, unstressed vowels, resulted in the widespread development of εἰς τόν as στόν and εἰς τήν as στήν. And again we may observe some broader ramifications of this category of metanalysis in the deformation of toponyms that occurred throughout the Byzantine and into the Modern period, for the common collocations εἰς τήν plus toponym, εἰς τάς plus toponym, εἰς τούς plus toponym, etc. have resulted in many remarkable metanalyses, both in Greek itself, and especially in foreign deformations (Frankish, Venetian, Turkish, etc.) of Greek names: Σταγοί/Stagoi (Kalambaka) from εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους; Stanco (Cos) from εἰς τὴν Κῶ; Stalimene (Lemnos) from εἰς τὴν Λῆμνον; Stasinas (Athens) from εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας; Stamboul (Istanbul) from εἰς τὴν πόλιν. I treat these and other metanalyzed toponyms at greater length in a chapter to follow.

Other s- *and* s-*less Greek Biforms*

But most Greek biforms with and without initial *s*- do not fall under a particular category. They simply appear as biforms, offering no clue as to their origin. Metanalysis was probably the culprit in the formation of at least some of them. So their appearance throughout the spectrum of Greek literature again suggests that the process of metanalysis was a continuous feature throughout the very long history of the Greek language.

We may, for example, date the development of the following biforms, whether or not they are attributable to metanalysis, to at least as early as the Classical period:

(σ)κώψ—Athenaeaus reports some variant names for σκώψ 'horned owl,' including κώψ, and mentions that Aristotle and others read κῶπες for σκῶπες at *Od.* 5.66.

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[19] See W.M. Leake (1835) 263, who, however, assumes that the earlier collocation was στοὺς Γόμφους, with the disappearance of the vowels in the pretonic preposition εἰς.

(σ)κνίψ—The name of an insect that infests trees, especially fig trees, occurs both as σκνίψ and κνίψ (with several Greek cognates) from the Classical period on.

(σ)πυρός—The ancient Greek, including Homeric, word for 'wheat' πυρός has good Indo-European credentials. But its nominal biform σπυρός, as well as an adjectival form σπυράμινος, appears several times in Doric inscriptions from as early as the 5th c. B.C. (Epidaurus, Cos, Thera, Cyrene), and Herodian and other lexicographers mention it as a Syracusan form for πυρός. Modern Greek is σπυρίον.

(σ)μαρίλη—The common Classical Greek word for 'charcoal' μαρίλη occurs once in the Aristotelian corpus as σμαρίλη.

(σ)μαραγέω—The ancient, and Homeric, word σμαραγέω 'resound' (cf. Hesiodic σμαραγίζω, σμαραγή) appears as an *s*-less μαράσσω = σμαράσσω = σμαραγέω in Erotian's collection of Hippocratic medical terms.

We may date the development of the following biforms, again whether or not they are attributable to metanalysis, to at least as early as the Hellenistic period:

(σ)κίφος—A 1st c. B.C. Spartan inscription uses the term σκιφατόμος of one who cuts palm leaves for crowns (στέφανοι); Hesychius glosses σκιφίνιον as 'palm leaf.' But Pausanias mentions that the Messenian word for crown (στέφανος) is an *s*-less κίφος.

(σ)φάζω—Philoxenus, Herodian, and other lexicographers mention the biform φάζω for σφάζω 'slay' and attribute the latter to 'pleonasm' of the former.

(σ)μῶδιξ—Herodian and Hesychius use the term μῶδιξ as a biform of Homeric σμῶδιξ 'bruise.'

(σ)μαλερός—The Homeric epithet for fire μαλερός occurs once as σμαλερός (again as an epithet for fire) in an anonymous 3rd c. A.D. poetic treatise on plants.

(σ)μῦς—Herodian and Hesychius gloss the noun σμῦς as μῦς 'mouse,' the latter clearly being the earlier form, since it is of PIE origin (cf. Latin *mus*).

(σ)χῆρ—Herodian glosses the noun σχῆρ as the equivalent of χῆρ 'hedgehog,' which is of PIE origin (cf. Latin *er* < **her*). Hesychius glosses a similar form σχῦρ as 'hedgehog.'

(σ)ίλλος—The noun σίλλος, which in Classical and Hellenistic Greek usually means 'insult, invective,' is used by Lucian to mean 'squinter,' and the verbal forms σιλλόω and σιλλαίνω are used by Julius Pollux, Aelius Dionysius, Hesychius, and Photius with respect to the eyes as well. This association with the eyes connects σίλλος, σιλλόω, and σιλλαίνω to their near homonyms ἴλλος, ἰλλόω, and ἰλλαίνω meaning 'squinter,' 'squint,' or 'turn the eye,' the latter of which are also found in Classical and Hellenistic Greek and are probably of PIE origin (cf. εἰλέω 'turn, roll').

(σ)κιμβάζειν—The verb σκιμβάζειν 'be lame' is said by several late lexicographers to have been used by Aristophanes; the synonym (ὀ)κιμβάζειν is used by the same lexicographers.

(σ)πύραθος—Nicander uses the form πύραθος at *Theriaca* 932, the only instance of this form in Greek, instead of σπύραθος 'ball of dung,' which was the common form among the medical writers from the time of Hippocrates. Greek cognates include: σφυράδες, σπυράδες, σπόρθυγγες, etc.

(σ)τυρβάζω—The *Lexica Segueriana* defines the word στυρβάσαι as ταράξαι 'stir up,' the only instance in Greek of this apparent biform of the Classical and Hellenistic *s*-less form τυρβάζω.

(σ)καρδαμύσσειν—The fairly common Classical and Hellenistic verb σκαρδαμύσσειν 'blink' appears as καρδαμύσσειν in several of the later lexicographers, the earliest being the 1st c. B.C. Philoxenus.

(σ)κίν(δ)αξ—Nicander uses the adjective σκίναξ 'quickly moving, nimbly moving' of a hare; it appears to be related to the Hesychian glosses κίνδαξ· εὐκίνητος and κινδαύει· κινεῖται.

(σ)κυρίττω—The *Suda* defines the word σκυρίττω as κερατίζω 'butt horns,' the only instance in Greek of this apparent biform of the Classical and Hellenistic *s*-less form κυρίττω.

(σ)φαιρίζω—Hesychius glosses the *hapax legomenon* φαιρίδδειν as the etymologically easily recognizable σφαιρίζειν 'play ball.'

(σ)τέρεμνος—Hesychius glosses the *hapax legomenon* τέρεμνος as στέρεμνος 'strong,' which is probably related to PIE **ster-* > Greek στερεός, etc.

(σ)φαιρωτήρ—Hesychius glosses both the elsewhere attested σφαιρωτήρ and the *hapax legomenon* φαιρωτήρ as σκύτος 'leather thong.'

(σ)μοιός—Hesychius lists two forms of an adjective meaning 'angry': σμοιός and μοιός.

(σ)καρθμός—Hesychius mentions a noun καρθμός 'movement' that appears to be a biform of σκαρθμός 'leap'; καίρω, a related verbal biform of σκαίρω 'dance,' is mentioned by Philoxenus and other lexicographers.

(σ)πέργουλος—Hesychius mentions separately the species of bird σπέργουλος and περγοῦλον. Both are *hapax legomena*, but the former may be related to the Aristophanic bird-name Σποργιλός, and it is perhaps of PIE origin (cf. Old High German *sperk-* 'sparrow-hawk'). Modern Greek for sparrow is σπουργίτης.

(σ)χελυνάζειν—Hesychius separately glosses the two *hapax legomena* σχελυνάζειν and χελυνάζειν as 'talk nonsense, mock.'

(σ)έλμα—Hesychius glosses ἕλματα as σανιδώματα 'wooden planks,' which is semantically equivalent to earlier σέλματα 'wooden planks, beams' (Homer, Hymns, Archilochus, etc.). The *Etymologicum Magnum*, sub εὐσέλμους, explaining the direction of development incorrectly, offers that ἕλμα became σέλμα by 'pleonasm' of sigma.

(σ)ίγα—Hesychius reports that the imperative σιώπα (= σίγα) 'be quiet' appears as *s*-less ἴγα in Cyprian.

(σ)ἄγανα—Hesychius reports that the noun σαγήνη 'hunting/fishing net,' which is spelled elsewhere in Hesychus as σάγανα, appears as *s*-less ἄγανα in Cyprian.

Of course not all these biforms owe their existence to metanalysis; there are many other possible motivating factors. But the fact that biforms with and without initial *s*- are by far the most common type of biform throughout the history of the Greek language, combined with the fact that movable and final -*s* are such common features of Greek morphology, argues for junctural metanalysis as a source for the creation of at least some of them.

Summary

It has been particularly illuminating in this chapter to traverse the entire history of the Greek language, from its Proto-Indo-European roots to the modern vernacular, for these observations of possible metanalyses owing to movable and final sigma throughout the history of the Greek language offer reassuring *a posteriori* support for the fundamental assumption of this work: that metanalysis at word boundaries was a productive force in the creation of new forms and words in the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache*. The empirical evidence from various periods is especially welcome in this case because the proposed Homeric metanalyses are somewhat less convincing than those determined to have resulted from nu-ephelkystikon and final nu. I will ask the reader to refer back to this section later for analogical support when I propose in chapters to follow that the sources of some Greek toponyms, as well as of Homeric Σελλοί and σῶκος, lie in metanalysis owing to movable and final sigma.

CHAPTER SIX

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN HOMER OWING TO MOVABLE AND FINAL KAPPA

Introduction

As we have seen, considerations of euphony in the articulation of early Greek both motivated the development and assured the maintenance of nu-ephelkystikon and movable sigma. Movable kappa is analogous. But since it was much less common, being found only in the negative particle οὐ(κ) 'not,' and possibly in the conjunction εἰ(κ) 'if,' it was also probably a much less frequent trigger for junctural metanalysis.[1]

While other Greek negatives—the negative particle μή and the negative prefixes α-, αν-, νη-—have well attested Proto-Indo-European origins, the etymology of οὐ(κ) remains a mystery.[2] What is clearer is that the -κ of οὐ(κ) once held a semantic function, probably being derived from οὐκί (as often in Homer), a combination of whatever was the earlier form of οὐ combined with the indefinite *k^wid* (> τί), with subsequent elision of final -ι resulting in οὐκ.[3] Semantics eventually gave way entirely to phonetics, however, as the -κ lost its signification and came to hold simply a euphonic function. In Homer οὐ is always followed by a consonant, or by a word that in an earlier form had a consonant (ἑ, οἱ, ἕθεν), while οὐκ occurs only before vowels (οὐχ before vowels with spiritus asper); unlike nu-ephelkystikon and movable sigma, movable kappa is never used before a consonant for purposes of versification (i.e., to make a preceding naturally light syllable heavy). Thus, while the semantic value of the -κ of οὐ(κ) eventually disappeared, and

[1] The conjunction εἰ(κ) 'if' has survived only in the Arcadian dialect of a few 5th and 4th century Tegean inscriptions. On the complications of this matter, see below under καν/ἄν.

[2] The negative particle μή is from PIE **mē̆* (cf. Sanskrit *má*, Armenian *mi*, etc.), the negative prefixes α-, αν-, νη- from PIE **n̥-*, **ne-* (cf. Sanskrit *á*(*n*)-, *ná*, Latin *in-*, *ne*). As for οὐ(κ), nearly a dozen Indo-European cognates have been proposed, none of them etymologically tenable, and even the very unlikely possibility of a foreign source has been raised; for bibliography, see *Boisacq*, *GEW*, *DELG*, and *LfgE* sub οὐ, *Schwyzer* II 591, n. 5, and W. Cowgill (1960).

[3] So *GEW* and *DELG* sub οὐ, and *Schwyzer* I 299, 403; II 569, 592.

while it apparently never had any metrical value for the formulation of epic diction, its phonetic value alone assured its maintenance in Homeric—and later—Greek.

Although movable kappa occurs almost exclusively in the single word οὐ(κ), we can reasonably expect that it triggered at least some cases of junctural metanalysis, both because οὐ(κ) is a word of great frequency and because as a proclitic it is closely attached prosodically and syntactically to the word that follows. Also, although quite rare, kappa is one of the few consonants that can stand at the end of a Greek word (otherwise only nu, rho, and sigma [including the double consonants xi and psi]), as in the common preposition ἐκ, and it is possible that prepositional phrases introduced by ἐκ may have contributed to some additional cases of junctural metanalysis. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental, then, that there exist in ancient Greek many biforms of nearly synonymous meanings that occur both with and without initial kappa: μέλαθρον/κμέλεθρον 'wooden beam'; νέφος/κνέφας 'cloud, mist, darkness,' τύπος/κτύπος 'striking, crashing,' ἀνθήλια/κανθήλια 'saddle-bags,' ἀπήνη/καπάνα 'wagon, chariot,' ὄγχνη/κόγχνη 'pear tree,' ἄρυα/κάρυα 'walnuts,' ἴχλα/κίχλα 'a type of fish,' ἄχλαξ/κάχληξ 'pebble,' αὐχέω/καυχάομαι 'boast,' ἀλινδέομαι/καλινδέομαι 'roll about.'

Phonetic ambiguity created by the final kappa of the preposition ἐκ may have contributed to the rise of some of the biforms that begin with consonants (e.g., ἐκ μελάθρων > κμέλεθρον, ἐκ νεφέων > κνέφας). Phonetic ambiguity created by the movable kappa of οὐ(κ) may offer an explanation for some of the biforms in which one of the two begins with a vowel (e.g., οὐκ αὐχέω > καυχάομαι). For the rare form κόγχνη 'pear tree,' for example, found only quite late as a gloss in Herodian and Hesychius,[4] one thinks back to the combination οὐκ ὄγχνη in the description of Laertes' garden at *Od.* 24.246–47:

> οὐ φυτόν, οὐ συκῆ, οὐκ ἄμπελος, οὐ μὲν ἐλαίη,
> οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή τοι ἄνευ κομιδῆς κατὰ κῆπον.[5]

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[4] *Herodian* Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας sub κόγχναι: κόγχναι αἱ ὄγχναι; *Hesychius* sub κόγχας: κόγχναι· αἱ ὄγχναι.

[5] This is the explanation for κόγχναι proposed in the *LSJ Supplement* (though it is not repeated in the *LSJ Revised Supplement*). R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 290 considers this explanation as a possibility but favors attributing the biforms to a substratal origin; cf. E.J. Furnée (1972) 131, n. 59.

However, none of these specific biforms with and without kappa can be attributed with any certainty to junctural metanalysis. Some may be etymologically unrelated coincidences (e.g., perhaps τύπος/κτύπος). Others, while etymologically related, may owe their existence to other sources: a vestige of a Proto-Indo-European laryngeal may be detected in some of these biforms (e.g., perhaps ἀλινδέομαι/καλινδέομαι);[6] the earlier indigenous language(s) of Greece may have spawned some of these biforms in the process of their being adapted to Greek (e.g., perhaps ἴχλα/κίχλα);[7] and a form with initial kappa may reflect a Greek attempt to articulate the glottal stop of an Eastern loan word (e.g., ἀπήνη/καπάνα, from Semitic *ʿapān-* 'wheel').[8]

However, there is one set of biforms for whose existence junctural metanalysis of movable kappa in the Greek language itself is the clearest explanation: the modal particles ἄν and κε(ν)/κα(ν) that are found so commonly in Homer and elsewhere. I offer here a more extensive treatment of these biforms as an illustration of the potential of movable kappa to trigger junctural metanalysis.

καν / ἄν

As ubiquitous a word as the modal particle ἄν, which is virtually identical in function to the modal particles κε(ν) and κα(*ν), may owe its form to junctural metanalysis: in this case to such common Proto-Greek collocations as *οὔ καν and *εἴ καν being metanalyzed as οὐκ ἄν and εἰκ ἄν.

There is no compelling evidence that the form ἄν is of Proto-Indo-European origin; the commonly referenced particle *an*, which is used in Latin and Gothic to introduce questions, while a good match phonetically, has almost nothing in common with ἄν semantically, syntactically, or in any other functional way.[9] The forms κε(ν) and κα(*ν) have better

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[6] So E.G. Elícegui (1969) 194.

[7] On biforms with and without initial κ- that are presumably of substratal origin, see E.J. Furnée (1972) 130–131, 391.

[8] On the Semitic origin of ἀπήνη/καπάνα, see O. Szemerényi (1974) 149–150.

[9] The association of Greek ἄν with Latin and Gothic *an* was first made in a short monograph by Leo Meyer (1880). It has been endorsed with varying degrees of enthusiasm by: *Monro, Grammar* paragraph 364; *Pokorny* sub **an-2*; *Hofmann* sub ἄν; *Schwyzer* II 558; *GEW* sub ἄν; D.J.N. Lee (1967) 46, 48–49, 54–55; *LfgE* sub ἄν.

Indo-European credentials, plausibly going back to the Proto-Indo-European perfectivizing particle **kom*, which also begat the Sanskrit enclitic particle *kam* and the Hittite enclitic particle *kan*.[10] This is a good match phonetically, and there are several functional similarities, among which of particular note are the identical collocations to be found in Homeric νύ κεν, Sanskrit *nú kam*, and Hittite *nu kan*.[11]

The Proto-Indo-European particle **kom* would presumably have become in Proto-Greek the enclitic particle **ken*, with a zero-grade form **kn̥*.[12] There is no attestation of any form of the modal particle in Mycenaean, as the content of the Linear B tablets does not lend itself to such syntactical niceties, but the forms in the pre-historic Greek dialects can be reconstructed: κα in West Greek (from PG **kn̥*); κεν in proto-Aeolic and probably in Arcado-Cyprian (from PG **ken*); *καν in proto-Attic-Ionic (from a blend of the two). In the historic dialects this predictably resulted in κ', κα being attested in the West Greek dialects (Doric, Locrian, and Elean) as well as in Boeotian, while κ', κε, κεν is attested in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Cyprian. But unpredictably we find ἄν rather than καν in Attic and Ionic, and, very surprisingly, ἄν rather than κ', κε, κεν in Arcadian. Arcadian ἄν can be attributed to pre-historic proto-Attic-Ionic influence,[13] to common innovation during a period of dialectal unity between proto-Attic-Ionic and Arcadian (i.e., after the Achaean migrations to Cyprus),[14] or to an independent but parallel development in just the two dialects (though this seems too coincidental to be a likely scenario). In any case it is hard to imagine that the use of ἄν in Arcadian is very ancient, since its sibling dialect Cyprian uses only κε. Moreover, some vestiges of an earlier form of the modal with initial κ- appear in Arcadian: the morphologically ambigu-

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[10] So *Pokorny* sub **kā, ke, kom; Hofmann* sub κε; *Schwyzer* II 568; K. Forbes (1958) 180; *DELG* sub κε. Some have expressed doubts about this etymology for κε(ν), instead suggesting a connection with the Russian emphatic suffix *-ko, -ka* (so *GEW* sub κε)—though this may simply offer a Slavic avatar of the same family (so *Pokorny* sub **kā, ke, kom; Hofmann* sub κε). Others have looked no further than Greek for the etymology, finding the origin of κε(ν) in the demonstrative stem κε- plus an adverbial formant -ν of locatival function (so L.R. Palmer in *Companion* 91)—though this stem may itself have its origin in a Proto-Indo-European deictic particle **ke* (cf. Latin *cedo, -ce*) (so C.J. Ruijgh [1992] 78, 83–84).

[11] The similarity of these collocations was observed by J. Wackernagel and A. Debrunner (1930) 568; in agreement are *Schwyzer* II 568 and K. Forbes (1958) 180.

[12] Cf. *Pokorny* sub **kā, ke, kom; DELG* sub κε.

[13] So *Buck, Dialects* 134.2.a.

[14] So K. Forbes (1958) 182.

ous EIKAN on some 5th or 4th c. Tegean inscriptions (e.g., 3× on *IG* V.ii.3; 4x on *IG* V.ii.6) seems to point back to an early εἴ καν that was metanalyzed as εἰκ ἄν, with the -κ of εἰκ thereafter serving—as that of οὐ(κ)—simply to obviate hiatus. After this metanalysis the innovative forms εἰκ and ἄν took on lives of their own as self-sufficient words in Arcadian: e.g., both εἰκ ἐπί...and εἰ δ' ἄν...appear on the Tegean inscription *IG* V.ii.3.

For our purposes the most pertinent observation to be made from this reconstruction of the dialectal history of the modal particle is that of its various outcomes—κ', κε, κεν; κ', κα, *καν; ἄν—the form without kappa is the odd-man-out. This is best explained not by assuming the existence of two separate particles with different etymologies but rather by regarding ἄν as a secondary development—a later (de)formation—of *καν: the outcome of a decapitation of *καν owing to junctural metanalysis in such phrases as *οὔ καν.[15] This metanalysis was isolated in the prehistoric vernacular of the proto-Attic-Ionic dialect, and possibly in its contemporary epic *Kunstsprache*; the prehistoric Aeolic epic *Kunstsprache* (with κ', κε, κεν) that eventually spawned the Homeric epics could not have been its nesting ground. I include a treatment of it here, in a work on Homeric diction, because the distribution of the modal particle in Homer sheds some fairly bright light on its evolution.

[15] So, more or less, K. Forbes (1958); L.R. Palmer in *Companion* 90–92; *DELG* sub ἄν and κε; W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1970) 573–574; *Janko, Commentary* on *Il.* 13.126–8; M.W. Haslam (1976) 203, n. 5; C.J. Ruijgh (1992) 77–78; P. Wathelet (1997) 247, 255–256; A.L. Sihler (2000) 91. For various objections see *LfgE* sub ἄν: that such an odd development in two different dialects—proto-Attic-Ionic and Arcadian—seems unlikely (true, except that proto-Attic-Ionic may have influenced Arcadian rather than the innovation arising independently); that the nu of κε(ν), hence presumably also of κα(ν), is a nu-ephelkystikon, so a connection to ἄν is even more tenuous (but nu was originally part of the root [from **ken/kn̥*] and only later came to be regarded as a nu-ephelkystikon); that Arcadian EIKAN is to be read as εἰκ ἄν rather than εἴ καν, so this is no evidence for καν (true only in the case of its usage in 5th–4th c. inscriptions, for it points back to a much earlier period in which the yet to be metanalyzed εἰ καν was the proper form). These and some additional objections are raised by D.J.N. Lee (1967): that Sanskrit *kam* is semantically no closer to Greek κε(ν) than Latin/Gothic *an* is to Greek ἄν (but this is not true, and besides, based simply on the distribution of the modals in Greek, κε[ν] is clearly the older form and is therefore inherently more likely to be of Proto-Indo-European origin). Lee's further objections are mostly trivial and seem to arise out of a notion of Homer as a speaker of the vernacular (a synchronic view) rather than as a repository of many linguistic stages of an epic *Kunstsprache* (a diachronic view). For example, he objects (52) that he cannot conceive of the same speaker (i.e., Homer) saying at the same time οὔ καν and νύ κεν.

There are in the Homeric epics no attestations of West Greek κα or hypothetical proto-Attic-Ionic (and Arcadian) *καν. The Homeric epics have only Aeolic κ' (237×), κε (411×), κεν (511×) (total 1,159×), and Attic-Ionic ἄν (278×); thus they show about a four to one preference of κε(ν) over ἄν.[16] There is little distinction to be made in usage between these two forms of the modal particle except in negative sentences, where there is a marked preference for ἄν over κε(ν).[17] More specifically, the collocation οὐκ ἄν (61× Homer [and an additional 7× in the Hymns]) occurs about four times more often than οὔ κε(ν) (17× Homer).[18] This is a very significant variation from the normal distribution of the particles in Homer, where, as we just observed, the ratio is precisely the reverse.

L.R. Palmer has argued that this is a fact of great importance, and any explanation as to the etymology and history of the particle must account for this peculiar distribution. He hypothesizes a misdivision in proto-Attic-Ionic—*οὐ κάν τις > οὐκ ἄν τις—and cites as a parallel Latin **si cubi* > *sic ubi*.[19] K. Forbes has arrived independently at virtually the same conclusion and has listed among the benefits of this explanation that: there is no longer any need to entertain the unlikely etymology relating ἄν to the Latin and Gothic interrogative *an*; the semantic equivalence of ἄν and κε(ν), since they are of the same etymological origin, is now to be expected rather than simply marveled at; the overall dialectal distribution of the modal becomes much easier to understand.[20] M.W. Haslam has marshaled in support of Palmer and Forbes' explanation the rarity of the combination οὐ + κ + vowel in contrast to the ubiquity of the combination οὐκ + vowel in Homeric Greek; hence, he argues, there existed a strong temptation for 'boundary redistribution.'[21] Haslam's calculations are somewhat inaccurate, but his principal is entirely valid. There are 23 examples of οὐ + κ*V* in Homer (omitting οὔ κε[ν]) and 248 examples of οὐκ + *V* (omitting οὐκ

[16] The not infrequent manuscript variants—κεν/ἄν, ἄρ'/ἄν, αὖ/ἄν, etc.—do not measurably affect this overall ratio.

[17] So *Monro*, *Grammar* paragraph 363.2a; L.R. Palmer in *Companion* 90–92; P. Wathelet (1997) 255–256.

[18] οὔ κε(ν) and οὐκ ἄν occur as manuscript variants at *Il.* 12.465, 13.289, 17.489, 24.439; *Od.* 17.268, and 23.187, but the effect of these passages on the overall ratio is negligible.

[19] L.R. Palmer in *Companion* 91.

[20] K. Forbes (1958) 182.

[21] M.W. Haslam (1976) 203, n. 5.

ἄν): a ratio of roughly one to ten. So, quite apart from any functional considerations, phonetics alone would have presented a strong temptation to metanalyze the unusual *οὔ καν as the common οὐκ ἄν.

This is not to say that we should read οὔ καν—or even οὔ κε(ν)—in any of the 61 instances of οὐκ ἄν attested in our inherited manuscripts of the Homeric epics.[22] No, οὐκ ἄν is what an 8th c. Homer sang, οὐκ ἄν is what his audience understood, and οὐκ ἄν is consequently what should be printed in our critical texts. Its ancestor οὔ καν had already gone the way of the dinosaur both in the proto-Attic-Ionic vernacular and in whatever existence it may once have enjoyed in prehistoric Attic-Ionic epic verse.

The pre-Homeric bards of Ionia inherited a rich tradition of epic words and phrases from their Aeolian predecessors, which they continually modernized into their corresponding Ionic forms wherever it was metrically expedient and otherwise unobjectionable. For example, they abandoned Aeolic -α, ἔμμι, θέρσος, Μοῖσα, ἄτερος, etc. for the metrically equivalent Ionic -η, εἰμί, θάρσος, Μοῦσα, ἕτερος, etc.; but they preserved Aeolic -εσσι, ἔμμεν, ἄμμες, ἴα, πίσυρες, etc. because these words and forms offered metrically useful alternatives to Ionic -σι, εἶναι, ἡμεῖς, μία, τέσσαρες, etc.[23] The choice between the phrases οὔ κε(ν) and οὐκ ἄν was somewhat more complex. The Ionian bards appear for the most part to have modernized Aeolic οὔ κε(ν) into οὐκ ἄν of their own vernacular where it was both metrically and phonetically expedient to do so; i.e., where οὐκ ἄν offered a metrically equivalent and phonetically unobjectionable alternative. Of the seventeen occurrences of οὔ κε(ν) that have survived to be recorded in our inherited Homeric manuscripts, seven have resisted being modernized to οὐκ ἄν for metrical reasons (i.e., οὐκ ἄν cannot function as a metrical doublet in the seven occurrences of οὔ κε), and four others may have resisted modernization for phonetic reasons: i.e., to avoid the jingle of the combination ἄν α(ν)- (e.g., οὐκ ἄν ἀνήρ, οὐκ ἄν ἀνιδροτί, οὐκ ἄν ἀλήιος).[24] Of the remaining six verses in which οὔ κε(ν) has survived

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[22] As was proposed, for example, by A. Fick (1886) xxiii and more extensively by J. van Leeuwen (1887) in their enthusiasm to reconstruct a pristine Aeolic Homeric text.

[23] Though a bit dated, I still find the most articulate description of this evolution to be that of M. Parry in *MHV* 325–361.

[24] An objective analysis of the phonetic motivation for word choice in Homer is probably unattainable, and perhaps undesirable, but in comparing the use of οὐκ ἄν and οὔ κε(ν) it seems worthy of notice that οὐκ ἄν is followed by /e/ almost half the

in our manuscripts four have οὐκ ἄν as a manuscript variant, leaving us to ponder only in the cases of *Il.* 12.58 οὔ κεν ῥεά and *Od.* 2.249 οὔ κεν οἱ why οὔ κε(ν) was not modernized to οὐκ ἄν.[25]

time, while οὔ κε(ν) is followed by /a/ almost half the time. On the other hand οὐκ ἄν is followed by /a/ only once, while οὔ κε(ν) is followed by /e/ only twice. *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* II 345–346 and *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 13.288–89 have observed some of these phonetic proclivities.

[25] Though in the latter case οὔ κεν was perhaps retained by analogy with the eleven other incidences of the phrase κεν οἱ in Homer.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS IN HOMER OWING TO VOCAL ELISION

Introduction

The ubiquity of elision—the suppression or outright omission in pronunciation of a final vowel or diphthong (ε, ο, short α and ι, αι, οι, and very rarely η) before a word beginning with a vowel—is one of the features that has made Homeric Greek particularly susceptible to the kind of acoustic resegmentation, i.e., junctural metanalysis, under consideration. I count 19,133 incidences of elision demarcated in our inherited texts of Homer: 10,681 in the *Iliad* and 8,452 in the *Odyssey*.[1] This adds up to one incidence of elision for every 1.453 verses; or, in terms of percentage, there occurs an elision on average in 68.8% of Homeric verses.[2] This also adds up to one incidence of elision for every 10.6 words; or, in terms of percentage, there occurs an elision on average in 9.4% of Homeric words.[3] By comparison, the incidence of elision in Thucydidean prose, though substantial, as in the Greek language as a whole, is roughly one-sixth that of Homeric verse, and that of Herodotean prose is less than one-tenth.[4] The figures for Hesiodic verse, on the other hand, are virtually identical to Homer.[5] Such a high

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1 The number of elisions is based on D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen's edition of the *Iliad*, P. von der Mühll's edition of the *Odyssey* (calculated by searching the electronic versions of these editions in the *TLG*). The total may be slightly different in other editions, depending on how certain word combinations are construed.

2 I count 15,693 verses in D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen's edition of the *Iliad*, 12,110 verses in P. von der Mühll's edition of the *Odyssey*—a total of 27,803 verses.

3 I count 115,477 words in D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen's edition of the *Iliad*, 87,765 words in P. von der Mühll's edition of the *Odyssey*—a total of 203,242 words (*TLG*).

4 I count 2,464 elisions in the 153,260 words of H.S. Jones and J.E. Powell's edition of Thucydides (calculated by searching the electronic version of this edition in the *TLG*): one incidence of elision for every 62.2 words, or, in terms of percentage, an elision on average in 1.6% of Thucydidean words. I count 1,686 elisions in the 189,489 words of Ph.-E. Legrand's edition of Herodotus (calculated by searching the electronic version of this edition in the *TLG*): one incidence of elision for every 112.4 words, or, in terms of percentage, an elision on average in .89% of Herodotean words.

5 I count 1,199 elisions in the 12,869 words of M.L. West's and F. Solmsen's editions of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* (calculated by searching the electronic

incidence of elision in the articulation of epic verse must have been a primary contributor to the obfuscation of word boundaries, especially in the oral/aural, i.e., textless, performances of epic during the pre-Homeric period.

In most places where elision is marked in our inherited texts, the word boundaries are easily distinguishable, and the meanings of the collocations of words clear, to those who take the time to study them. But the confidence displayed by the typography of our modern texts sometimes conceals ambiguities of word boundaries, especially when etymologically obscure words are embedded in the collocations. How, after all, is an auditor to distinguish phonetically between οὐ δὴ βαιόν and οὐδ' ἠβαιόν, or between ἐπ' ἰκτιδέην and ἐπὶ κτιδέην? Even the many highly competent editors of Homeric texts through the ages, with all the leisure they needed to ponder the various morphological, syntactic, semantic, and metrical advantages and disadvantages of different readings, have had to leave some word boundaries unresolved: for example, as we have seen, in those collocations of words that end in epsilon (e.g., δέ) followed by verbs that may or may not have included an augment (e.g., *Il.* 1.5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή or Διὸς δὲ τελείετο βουλή).

Many of the ambiguities regarding word boundaries in collocations of elided words must have arisen during an oral rather than a textual transmission of the Homeric epics. One can imagine that junctural metanalyses owing to such ambiguities must have been fairly common during the truly oral bardic stage. One can further imagine that metanalyzed forms may have been introduced even in the first oral dictation of the epics, as the bard sang, for example, θ' εἰλόπεδον, and the scribe recorded θειλόπεδον. Oral dictations in later periods, even into the Hellenistic period, when it was not uncommon, in a sort of mass production, for someone to read a text to a group of scribes to record *en masse*, may have offered the opportunity for some additional metanalyses. The *scriptio plena* of the textual tradition, on the other hand, would have presented clearer word boundaries for those viewing the text and therefore would not have offered a ready avenue for the proliferation of metanalyses.

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versions of these editions in the *TLG*): one incidence of elision for every 10.7 words, or, in terms of percentage, an elision on average in 9.3% of Hesiodic words. This is a difference of only one percent from the figures for Homeric verse.

The following examples included in this chapter, then, as well as the dozen or so additional examples treated at greater length in subsequent chapters, likely all go back to an oral/aural rather than a textual venue of epic transmission: ὀκρυόεις/κρυόεις; ἰκτιδέη/κτιδέη; ἐμμεμαώς/μεμαώς; ἐλάχεια/λάχεια; ἠβαιός/βαιός; θειλόπεδον/εἰλόπεδον; τανηλεγής/ἀνηλεγής; ἀβληχρός/βληχρός; ἀλαπάζω/λαπάζω; ὄβριμος/βριμός; ἄϝολκα/ὦλκα; ἄσσα/*(σ)σά; and, finally, the more complicated and ambiguous examples ἐῖσος/ἶσος (along with some analogous biforms), λειβω/εἴβω, and γαῖα/αἶα.

ὀκρυόεις / κρυόεις

The adjective ὀκρυόεις occurs twice in Homer, both times in poignant and memorable speeches. It first appears as an epithet of herself in Helen's famous self-deprecation in the presence of Hektor (*Il.* 6.344):

> δᾶερ ἐμοῖο κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης

It appears again as a description of the horrors of civil war in Nestor's exhortation to his dispirited comrades (*Il.* 9.64):

> ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος
> ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος (some mss. ὀκριόεντος)

The adjective does not seem to have ever enjoyed a productive life in the Greek vernacular. It remains strictly a poeticism, used in imitation of Homer by later composers of dactylic hexameter and pentameter verse: the 5th c. philosopher-poet Parmenides (fr. 20.1) in a verse describing the path (ἀταρπιτός) to Hades; Apollonius of Rhodes (*Argonautica* 2.607) in a verse describing sailors' fear (φόβος) of the clashing rocks, and again (2.737) in a verse describing a cave (μυχός) leading to Hades; the *Anthologia Palatina* (7.67.3) in a verse describing a boat (βᾶρις) that conveys spirits of the dead across the river Acheron to Hades; and several times in Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica* (1.133, 539; 6.262; 13.88, 367) in verses describing battle-din (μόθος), the cavern (ἄντρον) in which Echidna bore Cerberus, death (θάνατος) by which men are overcome on the battlefield, and the darkness (ζόφος) of the nether world.[6]

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[6] Cf. also Marcellus (*De Piscibus* 57) in a verse describing the spleen (σπλήν), and the fragmentary *Elegiaca Alexandrina Adespota* (1.7) in a verse describing the soil (ἔδαφος)

Since antiquity the adjective has been widely regarded by lexicographers as a 'pleonastic' form of κρυόεις, which has in turn been associated with κρυερός, an adjective that seems particularly to describe the dread chill associated with war, death, and Hades: so Herodian, Georgius Choeroboscus, Eustathius, and the many ancient etymological lexica.[7] The term 'pleonastic' as used by the ancients, however, is usually simply descriptive of a situation in which a shorter and longer form of a word exist side-by-side; it does not explain the reasons for the development and survival of biforms.

Indeed it appears indisputable that ὀκρυόεις is somehow related to the more common κρυόεις, an adjective used twice in Homer to describe the pursuit (Ἰωκή *Il.* 5.740) and panic (φόβος *Il.* 9.2) of warfare, and twice in Hesiod to describe war itself (πόλεμος *Theogony* 936), as well as war's common outcome: Tartarus (Τάρταρος *Scutum* 255). And it seems equally clear that κρυόεις, hence ὀκρυόεις, is related to κρυερός, an adjective that is used in Homer, the *Hymns*, Hesiod, and the Lyric poets, among others, to describe the panic (φόβος) and lamentation (γόος) associated with warfare and death, as well as to describe many other concepts related to human destruction: e.g., ruin (ἀρή), disease (νοῦσος), suffering (πάθος), corpse (νέκυς), death (θάνατος), fate (μόρος), and Hades (Ἀίδης). The root κρυ- in its various forms enjoyed a very productive life in the Greek language, from ancient to modern, and it holds a secure place in the Indo-European family of languages as a whole.[8] Everywhere it connotes coldness, and usually that coldness that causes one to shudder with fear in the face of warfare and imminent death.

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of the earth. Gregorius Nazianzenus uses the adjective three times in his *Carmina de se ipso*, but in each case he seems to equate it to ὀκριόεις; this is a common confusion among both scholars and poets of the post-Alexandrian period.

[7] *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 174: κατὰ πλεονασμὸν τοῦ Ο ὡς τοῦ κρυόεις ὀκρυόεις. Georgius Choeroboscus' *De Spiritibus* 210 (in L.C. Valckenaer's edition): Τὸ Ο πλεονάζον ἐν ταῖς ἀπὸ συμφώνων ἀρχομέναις λέξεσι ψιλοῦται. βριμῶ, ὄβριμος. βέλος, ὀβελός. σταφὶς, ὀσταφίς. κρυόεις, ὀκρυόεις. Similarly *Et. Gen.* (sub ἀτρύγετος), *Et. Gud.* (sub ὀκρυόεις), *Et. Magn.* (sub ἀτρύγετος, ὀκριόεις), *Zonaras* (sub ὀκριόεις). *Eustathius* on *Il.* 6.344: Ὀκρυόεσσαν δὲ λέγει τὴν πολλοὺς νεκρώσασαν τοῖς δι' αὐτὴν πολέμοις καὶ κρυερῷ Ἅιδῃ προπέμψασαν. τὴν δ' αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥιγεδανήν φησιν ἀλλαχοῦ.

[8] For various Indo-European cognates (e.g., Old High German *hroso* 'ice,' Old Icelandic *hraus* 'shiver, shudder,' Tocharian B *krost* 'cold,' perhaps Latin *crusta* 'crust') see *GEW* and *DELG* sub κρύος, and *Pokorny* sub **kreu-*.

I wish to proceed a step further and propose very specifically that the form ὀκρυόεις was first generated as the result of an oral/aural metanalysis of a collocation of words constituting a pre-Homeric epic formula that included the adjective κρυόεις.

We can date this metanalysis quite precisely: it did not occur during the textual transmission of the epics, but during their oral transmission, well before Homer, when the form of the genitive singular of the second declension was in a period of transition between Mycenaean -οιο and Ionic -ου, both of which are equally common in Homer. This transitional form -οο, while unattested explicitly in our surviving manuscripts of Homer—except in the form ὅο (the genitive case of the relative pronoun), which is recorded in a single manuscript of *Od.* 1.70, where it is probably an accident rather than a memory of a pre-Homeric form—has nonetheless left its vestiges in various types of metrical irregularities in at least sixteen Homeric verses in addition to the two under consideration: *Il.* 2.325, 518; 5.21; 6.61; 7.120; 9.440; 13.788; 15.66, 554; 21.104; 22.6, 313; *Od.* 1.70; 10.36, 60; 14.239.[9] *Il.* 9.64 ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος is a metanalysis of the pre-Homeric formula ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος. Likewise, *Il.* 6.344 κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης is a metanalysis of the pre-Homeric formula κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης. The phonetic motivation for the metanalysis is evident in the juxtaposition of the words of these two surviving Homeric verses.

One may object that such a common and well-understood word as κρυόεις would never have been misanalyzed as a more difficult to understand (even nonexistent) ὀκρυόεις. To this I would respond that, in addition to the phonetic motivation, there were also metrical and semantic motivations for the metanalysis. During the pre-Homeric period of epic transmission, during which time the epic *Kunstsprache* was still fluid and developing, there arose a natural poetic inclination to have the adjective fill fully the common metrical space between bucolic diaeresis and verse end—ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος (/ – ⏑ ⏑ / – × ‖)—instead of retaining from the inherited, and now antiquated, formula the more unusual break within the fifth foot—ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος (⏑ ⏑ / – × ‖). I.e., this is a case of *dificillius metrum potius*. Also, the ready association of ὀκρυόεις with the Homeric adjective ὀκριόεις ('rough, jagged') provided semantic motivation to misanalyze on folk etymological

[9] For reconstructions of the earlier forms of these verses, see *Monro, Grammar* paragraph 98; *Chantraine, Grammaire* I 45; P. Wathelet (1970) 239–242.

grounds.[10] Indeed, the semantic ranges of these two adjectives overlap somewhat, inviting a false association between the two. This false association is perhaps responsible for the reading ὀκριόεντος instead of ὀκρυόεντος at *Il.* 9.64 in a few Homeric manuscripts. Perhaps it is also responsible for the fact that several manuscripts read ὀκρυόεις for all four instances of ὀκριόεις in the *Iliad*: 4.518, 8.327, 12.380, 16.735.[11]

In sum, the evidence of the Homeric epics themselves provides a phonetic, metrical, and semantic motivation for the oral/aural metanalysis ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος > ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος and κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης > κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης. The historical shift in the morphology of the genitive case of the second declension -οιο > -οο > -ου provides further motivation and explanation for the metanalysis and points to a date of metanalysis after the end of the Mycenaean period but before Ionic bards took up the epic tradition, during which time the innovative form -οο ran its full course.

But although ὀκρυόεις seems to me an excellent illustration of the type of pre-Homeric, oral/aural metanalysis that I am concerned with in this work, I would be remiss if I did not pose the possibility—a very remote possibility it seems to me—that the form arose as a result of post-Homeric textual misdivision (i.e., a scribal mistake), particularly since this has been the explanation given by many modern Homeric commentators. A brief historical survey of their opinions on this matter is instructive.

Some, living as they did at a time before the scholarly community became aware of the oral nature of the genesis and transmission of the Homeric epics, and therefore thinking only in terms of the writing and reading of texts, have understandably concluded that ὀκρυόεις is a result of a scribal misanalysis: e.g., É. Boisacq, who speaks of "a false division of an original text"; G. Murray, who declares more specifically that κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης and ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος are misinterpretations of ΚΑΚΟΜΕΧΑΝΟΟΚΡΥΟΕΣΕΣ and ΕΠΙΔΕΜΙΟΟΚΡΥΟΕΝΤΟΣ during a transliteration from "an old Attic alphabet" to "a new Ionian alphabet" (i.e., the so-called 'metacharaterismos').[12]

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[10] So J. van Leeuwen (1918) 176; C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 103.

[11] The perception in antiquity of an association between the two adjectives is discernable in the report of the *Et. Magn.* (sub ὀκριόεις), which explicitly derives ὀκρυόεις from ὀκριόεις: Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀκριόεις γίνεται ὀκρυόεις, ὁ ἀκρότατος καὶ ἄκρατος φόβος.

[12] *Boisacq* sub ὀκρυόεις; G. Murray (1911) 361, cf. 320–321; so also *Bechtel* sub ὀκρυόεις. On the 'metacharacterismos' generally, see S. Reece (2010b).

Others have apparently considered both options—pre-Homeric oral/aural metanalysis and post-Homeric textual misanalysis—and have nonetheless for various reasons opted for the latter. E. Schwyzer regards κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης as an incorrect textual reading of κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης, listing it among a number of other examples of incorrect readings that resulted from confusion owing to the conventions of early written texts: absence of word division, writing out of elided vowels, single-writing of double vowels and consonants, and the use of E and O for ει and ου. He seems to attribute κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης to the first and, possibly, the latter two conventions. I.e., the scribe was confused about how to render ΚΑΚΟΜΗΧΑΝΟ(Ο)ΚΡΥΟΕΣΗΣ, and so modernized it to κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης under the influence of his own vernacular.[13] In his Homeric grammar, P. Chantraine explains ὀκρυόεις as the result of a wrong interpretation during the orthographic stage (i.e., post-Homeric) of ΚΑΚΟΜΗΧΑΝΟΚΡΥΟΕΣΗΣ, with the reduction of geminated consonants and (more importantly here) geminated vowels to one letter, as was the practice in the most ancient texts of Homer. In his etymological dictionary, however, Chantraine acknowledges the possibility that the misdivision occurred during the pre-Homeric bardic stage and that κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης is Homeric and should be so written in our texts.[14] L.R. Palmer, in discussing some Alexandrian modernizations and corruptions of the original text, calls ὀκρύοεις a false division, due to a misunderstanding of the text (i.e., it is post-Homeric).[15] M. Negri is the most recent philologist I am aware of to hold fast to this view.[16] J.B. Hainsworth hedges his bets in his *Iliad* commentary, agreeing that the phrase was wrongly divided at some stage in the evolution of the *Kunstsprache*, and suggesting that the division occurred under the influence of the bucolic diaeresis, but at the same time warning that ὀκρύοεις is not guaranteed in the two instances in Homer, a fact that throws some doubt on the assertion that the misanalysis preceded Homer.[17]

It seems to me that this specific instance of metanalysis should be scrutinized more carefully under the light of the larger question of -οο

[13] *Schwyzer* I 102–103.
[14] *Chantraine, Grammaire* I 7–8, 45; contrast *DELG* sub ὀκρύοεις and P. Chantraine (1952) 58.
[15] L.R. Palmer in *Companion* 95.
[16] M. Negri (1981) 39.
[17] *Hainsworth, Iliad Commentary* on 9.64.

genitives in general: whether they ever actually existed, whether they were still current in Homer's time, and whether they should be reproduced in our texts as Homeric forms. It seems virtually indisputable that the -oo genitive existed as a historic linguistic form in early Greek, even though the evidence for it is derived chiefly from the Homeric texts themselves. It seems equally clear that the -oo genitive had run its course well before the time of Homer, that Homer himself did not know it as part of his own vernacular, and that he did not create any new formulas based on it. Any epic diction born of -oo during the pre-Homeric period was able to survive until Homer's time only in an innovative form (through the artificial lengthening of a vowel, for example, as in *ἀδελφεόο φρένας > ἀδελφειοῦ φρένας), and one type of innovation that paved an avenue for survival was the metanalysis seen in the two examples under consideration. In short, the metanalysis was pre-Homeric, occurring during the so-called 'Dark Age,' when Greeks were migrating in great numbers from the Greek mainland to Asia Minor, or, to put it in linguistic terms, between Mycenaean -οιο and Ionic -ου. Hence, the metanalysis was oral, not textual. From an editorial point of view, the metanalyzed forms ὀκρυόεντος and ὀκρυοέσσης—not the reconstructed Dark Age forms κρυόεντος and κρυοέσσης—should be printed in our texts, since they are the ones that have the stronger claim to being Homeric.[18]

One may invoke in further support the fact that no extant Homeric manuscript whatsoever records the formulas of these two verses in their reconstructed forms κρυόεντος and κρυοέσσης, as one might expect were they simply textual variants—even very old ones. Also, although the genitive -oo was clearly a real morphological form at some point in the history of the Greek language, and although it left clear vestiges in the metrical anomalies of several surviving Homeric verses, it was not recorded in this form in a single Homeric manuscript, even in the several formulas of the other sixteen verses in which it once occurred and can be reconstructed—except once, probably by accident at *Od.* 1.70. Nor has -oo left a trace on any other Greek manuscript or inscription. It was a pre-literate form. It is clear that we are dealing with a pre-Homeric, pre-textual, pre-literate, oral phenomenon here.

[18] M.L. West's reintroduction of the earlier (pre-Homeric) forms in his 1998 edition of the *Iliad*—κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης at *Il.* 6.344; ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος at *Il.* 9.64—presents a historical anachronism comparable to R. Payne-Knight's reintroduction of the digamma in his 1820 edition.

I am not alone, of course, in advocating this view. With few exceptions, the trend among Homeric scholars has been in this direction in recent years, as the nature of pre-Homeric diction has become more widely studied and appreciated. M. Parry, in his survey of the archaic, foreign, and artificial elements that constitute the poetic language of Homer, and that are natural, indeed necessary, characteristics of traditional oral poetry, includes κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης and ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος among many other examples of Ionic modernization that were brought about by means of a purely oral process, i.e., by singers who wanted to retain ancient formulas even as their own language continued to evolve.[19] M. Leumann, who usually speaks only in terms of scribes and texts, comes closest to the notion that some innovations could be oral and pre-Homeric in his treatment of ὀκρυόεις. He acknowledges R. Payne-Knight's reintroduction of ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος at *Il.* 9.64 in his 1820 edition of the *Iliad*, then he builds on it by asserting that phonetically one must reconstruct the process in two steps: first the original ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος was composed as an elided ἐπιδημίο' ὀκρυόεντος; then this was composed as a word group with prosodic hiatus as ἐπιδημίο(υ) ὀκρυόεντος. The (post-Homeric) spelling with -ου hides the sound-change: the final vowel sound is not perceived as a normal ο, but as contracted from -οο, but at the same time the long omicron is prosodically shortened. As a new word, ὀκρυόεις won from this context a new, stronger, poignant meaning as 'destructive,' as in its use by Helen at *Il.* 6.344 κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης. This explanation results first in the form ὀκρυόεις, either in *Il.* 9.64 or already in a pre-Homeric use. Thus the word ὀκρυόεις already exists for Homer, and it is historically false to read κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης in our texts of *Il.* 6.344, just as it is historically false to reconstruct genitive forms in -οο generally.[20] A. Dihle, in his review of M. Leumann's ground-breaking work, agrees generally with the development proposed by Leumann for ὀκρυόεις, but he insists much more strongly that the false word-division did not occur during the transcription of a text written *scriptio continua*, since expert scribes would not have created such false forms. It could only have occurred during an oral/aural period in the ears of a hearer.[21] In his acknowledgment of Leumann's work, T.B.L. Webster

[19] M. Parry, in *MHV* 351.
[20] M. Leumann (1950) 49–50, whose views here are advocated by E. Risch (1974) 155.
[21] A. Dihle (1970) 2.

too expresses much more confidently than Leumann that this 'wrong division' is pre-Homeric and oral. It must have occurred in the post-migration period, but well before Homer's *Iliad*, when the contraction of the genitive and the desire for the popular break after the fourth foot coupled to bring about the new form and establish it as a poetic word. This 'wrong division' cannot possibly be due to the miscopying of a text written in alphabetic script without word division; it is rather due to mishearing, i.e., a young oral poet misinterpreting an older poet's rendering.[22] G.P. Goold expresses agreement with T.B.L. Webster and attributes the error to mishearing rather than misinterpretation owing to transliteration from an older Attic to a newer Ionic type of alphabet (i.e., 'metacharaterismos')—a transliteration that he, contra, e.g., G. Murray above, denies ever occurred.[23] In his edition of the *Iliad* R. Janko expresses support for a pre-Homeric misdivision, and he advises that editors should not restore any of the -oo genitives to the Homeric texts, contraction having taken place long before Homer.[24] Even the *Lexikon des frügriechischen Epos*, which generally tends to have a textual bias on such matters, admits that the false division in this case resulted more likely from the oral situation than from the written text.[25] In sum, the proposal that a pre-Homeric oral/aural metanalysis is the source of a remarkable form that has survived in our inherited Homeric texts has been embraced in recent years more warmly in the case of ὀκρυόεις than for any other candidate—save perhaps νήδυμος.

ἰκτιδέη / κτιδέη

The adjective κτίδεος appears twice in Homer as an epithet describing a κυνέη, a helmet or head covering of some kind. In both instances the head covering is sported by the Trojan spy Dolon, first when he dons it in preparation for his nocturnal spy mission (*Il.* 10.335):

κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – × (some mss. ἐπ' ἰκτιδέην)

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[22] T.B.L. Webster (1958) 96–97.
[23] G.P. Goold (1960) 278–279.
[24] *Janko, Commentary* 15, n. 23.
[25] *LfgE* sub κρυόεις.

Then, a short time later, when it is unceremoniously stripped from his recently severed head by Odysseus and Diomedes (*Il.* 10.458):

τοῦ δ᾽ ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἕλοντο

The adjective is largely unproductive in Greek after these two attestations in Homer, occurring almost exclusively in explanations by later grammarians and lexicographers of these very Homeric passages.[26] Apollonius Sophista (sub κτιδέα), Hesychius (sub κτιδέα), the Aristophanic scholia (on *Clouds* 169), and, later, Eustathius (on *Il.* 18.352) offer as an explanation the noun form κτίς 'marten,' but this form has apparently been invented simply to account for Homeric κτίδεος. In short κτίδεος is a lexically isolated form, and κτίς has been created artificially by back-formation in order to explain it.

Hence the attractive and widely accepted proposal that κτίδεος has for some reason suffered an aphaeresis of iota and was in its earlier form, i.e., ἰκτίδεος, derived directly from the usual noun form ἴκτις, -ιδος 'marten,' which, though not attested as early as Homer, is used widely in Aristophanes, Aristotle, Nicander, Galen, Stobaeus, etc. Homeric κτιδέη κυνέη, then, is a head covering made from the skin of a marten. This fits well the context of the Homeric passage, for a marten-skin head covering complements the wolf-skin body covering that Dolon has donned in order to camouflage himself for his nocturnal spy mission: both wolves and martens are crafty, nocturnal carnivores. The association with ἴκτις, -ιδος is ancient: scholia on *Il.* 10.335; the *Etymologicum Magnum* (sub ἰκτῖνα, ἴκτις), Eustathius (on *Il.* 10.335), *Suda* (sub ἴκτις), *Zonaras* (sub κτιδέα). It is no surprise that some Homeric manuscripts have divided the collocation of words in *Il.* 10.335 as ἐπ᾽ ἰκτιδέην. But even if this were correct, it would not resolve the whole problem, since this simple solution is not possible in *Il.* 10.458.

It appears, then, that an early epic formula κρατὶ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἰκτιδέην κυνέην was misheard during the bardic stage of transmission and became metanalyzed as κρατὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην: hence the form

[26] The single exception that I am aware of is by the 4th c. A.D. rhetor Themistius, who in his Βασανιστὴς ἢ Φιλόσοφος (257a) uses the form as a noun not specifically in reference to this Homeric passage but rather more loosely in an allusion to Homeric arming scenes: ἀλλ᾽ εἴπερ ἄρα ἀκρατῶς ἐπιθυμοῦσι τῶν σεμνοτέρων ἀγωνισμάτων, καταλιπεῖν μὲν τὰ λαισήια καὶ τὰς κτιδέας καὶ τὴν γρυμέαν, λαβεῖν δὲ ἀσπίδα ἀληθινήν, οἵαν Ὅμηρος λέγει τὴν Νέστορος, τὴν ἀκήρατον καὶ χρυσῆν καὶ τοῖς κανόσι συνηρμοσμένην, ἢ οἵαν Ἥφαιστος ἐχαλκεύσατο Ἀχιλλεῖ…

κτιδέην that we find in *Il.* 10.335. The metanalysis of such a rare and technical term is semantically understandable; the phonetic avenue for the metanalysis provided by this formula is clearly discernible; and, from a metrical standpoint, the metanalysis may have been partly motivated by the slight preference in dactylic hexameter verse for a second-foot masculine caesura over a first-foot diaeresis. This metanalyzed form later escaped the phonetic environment that spawned it to become a legitimate word in its own right, as in *Il.* 10.458 τοῦ δ᾽ ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἕλοντο.[27]

In sum, the adjective κτίδεος is a fairly straightforward example of metanalysis—discernible as such without looking beyond the two examples of its use in our inherited text of Homer's *Iliad*. If the first verse (10.355) alone had been attested, we could have, and probably would have, attributed the form to a scribal misanalysis of a written text; the variants ἐπὶ κτιδέην and ἐπ᾽ ἰκτιδέην of our textual tradition are a witness to the ambiguity perceived by scribes and scholars. Fortunately, however, we have also inherited the second attestation (10.458), where the status of κτιδέην as an integrous unit precludes this possibility. Here the adjective has clearly escaped the phonetic environment of its earlier formula to become a new addition to the lexicon of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, not as a result of a visual error during the textual stage of transmission but rather as a result of an oral/aural error during the bardic stage of transmission.

The only uncertainty that hovers over this conclusion concerns the possible status of the iota of ἴκτις, -ιδος as a 'prothetic' vowel.[28] But this does not fall into any category of prothetic vowel in the usual sense of the term: i.e., the occurrence in initial position of /e/, and sometimes /a/ or /o/, before resonant consonants, semivowels, and some consonant clusters (/l m n r w y st khth/), as, for example, in ἔρεβος 'darkness' from PIE **reg^{w}os-* (cf. Sanskrit *rajas*), or ὄνομα 'name' from PIE **nomn̥-* (cf.

[27] P. Maas (1933) 286 has explained this lack of initial iota in the adjective in *Il.* 10.458 as a misunderstanding by a poet who did not know the name of the beast and so had misdivided the words in the neighboring verse in *Il.* 10.335 κρατὶ δ᾽ επικτιδεην κυνέην. M. Leumann (1950) 53–54 agrees with Maas' analysis and suggests that the poet of the Doloneia himself may have made the false analysis and thus created the new word. While essentially correct, both are thinking too much in literary terms—writers and text, *exemplum* and *imitatio*, etc.—to see the much fuller picture that these two passages provide.

[28] So Curtius (1858–1862) 650-652; E.R. Wharton (1882) 137; *Boisacq* sub ἴκτις; *LSJ* sub ἴκτις; W. Winter (1950) 25.

Latin *nomen*). In any case, the issue of whether or not a prothetic vowel is at play here is secondary, perhaps even irrelevant, since it is not the ostensibly metanalyzed form κτιδέη that would have a prothetic vowel, but rather the ostensibly correct form ἰκτιδέη. It is remotely possible, of course, that prothetic and nonprothetic forms existed side by side, as they occasionally do in Greek, though very rarely, as, for example, in ἐέρση/ἕρση 'dew,' or ἀμαλδύνω/μέλδω 'soften/melt,' and therefore that both adjectival forms, ἰκτίδεος and κτίδεος, were 'legitimate.' It is also remotely possible that κτιδέη was the earlier form, and that it had actually made its way into the epic *Kunstsprache* before the historical development in the Greek vernacular of a later form with prothetic vowel in ἴκτις (i.e., very early indeed), so that there developed a differentiation between a 'poetic' and 'nonpoetic' form. Both these possibilities seem extremely remote, however.

ἐμμεμαώς / μεμαώς

Forms of the verb μέμονα 'be eager' abound in Homer (129x), occurring always in the perfect or pluperfect tenses, and most often as participles (90x). There are also found in Homer eleven instances of a longer form of the verb—ἐμμέμονα—which occurs only in participial form.[29] Thus ἐμμεμαώς is seen alongside μεμαώς (likewise ἐμμεμαυῖα/μεμαυῖα, ἐμμεμαῶτες/μεμαῶτες, and ἐμμεμαῶτε/μεμαῶτε). The longer form is best explained as a result of junctural metanalysis.

Historically three different explanations have been offered for ἐμμεμαώς. The first is earliest attested in Herodian, who places ἐμμεμαώς in the same category as the compound ἐπεμβεβαώς, with its prepositional prefix.[30] No other explanations of the form survive from antiquity, so Herodian's may have been the unstated opinion of generations of Homeric lexicographers and commentators. It is the solution met in some modern Homeric dictionaries as well, which note in addition the intensive value of the prepositional prefix ἐν.[31] Among the obstacles

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[29] Possibly a twelfth instance can be found couched in a Platonic quotation of *Il.* 24.81 in place of ἐμβεβαυῖα of the Homeric manuscript tradition (*Ion* 538d2), and a thirteenth at *Od.* 23.127 in what looks like a passage interpolated from *Il.* 13.785.

[30] Scholium on *Il.* 9.582: οὐδοῦ ἐπ' ἐμβεβαώς· εἴτε ἓν μέρος λόγου 'ἐπεμβεβαώς' ὡς 'ἐμμεμαώς.'

[31] E.g., *Cunliffe* sub ἐμμάω; *DELG* and *LfgE* sub μέμονα simply label ἐμμεμαώς a compound form.

to this reconstruction (see below) is the absence of any discernible semantic difference between the two forms in the contexts in which they appear in Homer.

H. Seiler imagines a similar but far more ancient and complex history.[32] He proposes that prothetic ἀ-, stemming from PIE *n̥, the zero grade of the preposition **en* 'in,' can be seen in the semantically equivalent Greek reflexes ἀ/ἐν in such biforms as ἀτενής/ἔντονος, ἀλέγω/λέγω...ἐν, ἀλίγκιος/ἐναλίγκιος, and, most pertinent for our purposes, ἄμοτον/ἐμμεμαώς. This is a plausible scenario, but while the reconstruction seems fairly likely in the case of ἀτενής/ἔντονος, it seems much less so in the other cases, and Seiler's proposed development of ἄμοτον from **n̥-mn̥-to-*, with two different reflexes of *n̥ in the same word, seems very unlikely indeed.[33]

An utterly different solution has been proposed by M. Leumann, who regards ἐμμεμαώς as the result not of a natural development in the living language but of a false word division in the Homeric text.[34] The false division of an original ὣς ἄρ' ὅ γε (μ)μεμαώς as ὣς ἄρ' ὅ γ' ἐμμεμαώς in *Il.* 22.143 became the model for αὐτὰρ ὃ ἐμμεμαώς in *Il.* 5.142. In the text-oriented, analytic manner typical of his work, Leumann concludes that, since indisputable ἐμμεμαώς is found only in Books 5 and 20 of the *Iliad*, the poet of Book 5 (Diomedes' Aristeia) must have used the earlier form in *Il.* 22.143 as a model in his composition of 5.142 and then passed the form on to 5.240, 330, and 838. The poet of Book 20 (Aeneas' Episode) also utilized the new form at 20.284, 442, and 468, but the poet(s) of the rest of the *Iliad* made no use of it.

While any of these three solutions is theoretically possible, Leumann's seems the most plausible, even though his attempt to isolate *exemplum* and *imitatio* within the Homeric text itself, and thereby to ascribe relative dates to various Iliadic 'lays,' is now, in the light of developments in oral-formulaic theory, largely discredited. We now recognize that the metanalysis of, e.g., γε μεμαώς as γ' ἐμμεμαώς must have been oral, not textual, and is therefore pre-Homeric. I favor this radically modified version of Leumann's proposal over the others for at least three reasons.

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[32] H. Seiler (1957) 17–21.
[33] R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 26 labels Seiler's proposal untenable.
[34] M. Leumann (1950) 50–53.

First, as mentioned above, there is no discernible difference in meaning between the two forms. A long simile of Diomedes raging like a lion, illustrates well the synonymity of the biforms (*Il.* 5.134–42):

Τυδεΐδης δ᾽ ἐξαῦτις ἰὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη
καὶ πρίν περ θυμῷ μεμαὼς Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι·
δὴ τότε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἕλεν μένος ὥς τε λέοντα
ὅν ῥά τε ποιμὴν ἀγρῷ ἐπ᾽ εἰροπόκοις ὀΐεσσι
χραύσῃ μέν τ᾽ αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον οὐδὲ δαμάσσῃ·
τοῦ μέν τε σθένος ὦρσεν, ἔπειτα δέ τ᾽ οὐ προσαμύνει,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ σταθμοὺς δύεται, τὰ δ᾽ ἐρῆμα φοβεῖται·
αἳ μέν τ᾽ ἀγχιστῖναι ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλῃσι κέχυνται,
αὐτὰρ ὃ ἐμμεμαὼς βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς·
ὣς μεμαὼς Τρώεσσι μίγη κρατερὸς Διομήδης.

Likewise a few verses later in a description of Pandaros and Aeneas, who are eager to fight against Diomedes (*Il.* 5:239–44):

Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσαντες ἐς ἅρματα ποικίλα βάντες
ἐμμεμαῶτ᾽ ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδῃ ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους.
τοὺς δὲ ἴδε Σθένελος Καπανήϊος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,
αἶψα δὲ Τυδεΐδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
Τυδεΐδη Διόμηδες ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,
ἄνδρ᾽ ὁρόω κρατερὼ ἐπὶ σοὶ μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι

If the longer form were the result of a prepositional prefix or some other semantically significant prothesis one would expect at least a slight difference in meaning, if only in emphasis.[35]

Second, as is often the case among words that have resulted from metanalysis, ἐμμεμαώς is lexically isolated. While instances of the finite form μέμονα can be found with great frequency throughout the history of the Greek language, both in poetry and in prose, ἐμμέμονα occurs but once in all of Greek literature, in the form ἐμμέμονεν at Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 982. All other instances are restricted to the participial form. And while the participial form μεμαώς is very common throughout the Greek poetic tradition, ἐμμεμαώς is limited to Homer and some later epic imitations: Hesiod's *Scutum* (1x), Apollonius of Rhodes (1x), Quintus (12x), the Orphica Lithica (1x), and an anonymous epic

[35] It could be argued, of course, that the semantic difference is too nuanced to attract our notice. It is also possible that there existed some grammatical or syntactical distinction between the two forms: H. Seiler (1957) 19 observes, for example, that the shorter form is commonly used with the infinitive while the longer form is not.

verse in the *Collectanea Alexandrina* (1x). Even within the confines of the participial usages in Homer ἐμμεμαώς suffers considerable lexical isolation in comparison with μεμαώς: for ἐμμεμαώς occurs only in the *Iliad*, and all eleven of its instances there are in the nominative case, while μεμαώς can be found in both epics, and it occurs in all case forms. If ἐμμεμαώς had been the result of a prepositional prefix or some other semantically significant prothesis we would rightly expect it to have made further inroads into the poetic tradition, as μεμαώς did, and perhaps even have left a mark in the vernacular. If it was the result of junctural metanalysis, on the other hand, its lexical isolation is understandable, even expectable.

Third, as has been mentioned briefly above, a viable phonetic avenue for metanalysis of μεμαώς as ἐμμεμαώς is readily available in Greek epic diction generally in the common ambiguity produced by elidable vowels in the preceding word—in this case elidable -ε (e.g., τ', δ', γ', ἠδ', οὐδ', οὔτ', ποτ')—as is illustrated explicitly in the surviving Homeric texts themselves: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες (*Il.* 13.785); ὣς οἵ γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε (17.735 = 746); ὣς ἄρ' ὅ γ' ἐμμεμαώς (*Il.* 22.143). The oral/aural ambiguity motivating this metanalysis during the pre-Homeric stage of oral transmission is mirrored in the confusion over the proper textual reading of these verses by later scribes and scholars.[36] Contributing to the ambiguity was the potential of initial μ-, among other liquid-nasals, both to lengthen a preceding short syllable and to leave it be: ὁ δὲ μάλα—with long δέ (*Il.* 11.378) vs. ἡ δὲ μάλα—with short δέ (*Od.* 13.161); τε μέγα—with long τε (*Il.* 15.381) vs. τε μέγα—with short τε (*Il.* 6.446); cf. *Il.* 2.43 vs. *Il.* 3.324, *Od.* 11.530 vs. *Il.* 18.406. Such formulas as δὲ μεμαῶτες (with δέ as a long syllable) would therefore not have been regarded as unusual in the prosody of ancient epic diction, especially when they were positioned, as in these instances, at the metrical ictus; at the same time, though, the formula might just as readily have been heard as δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες.

In conclusion, it is perhaps worth considering two further possible motives for the development of the longer form of the participle. The

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[36] Note the manuscript variants ἐμμεμαῶτ-/μεμαῶτ- at *Il.* 13.785, 17.735, and 17.746, and especially the scholium on 13.785: "δ' ἐμμεμαῶτες," οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος, ἄλλοι δὲ "δὲ μεμαῶτες." Of course, not all instances of ἐμμεμαώς can be eliminated in this way: its five occurrences at verse-beginning, for example, are indisputable (*Il.* 5.240, 330, 838; 20.284, 442).

first has to do with metrical usefulness. It was desirable for an extemporaneously composing bard to have the flexibility provided by the differently shaped but semantically equivalent participles: – ⏑ ⏑ – / ⏑ ⏑ – (as in ἐμμεμαώς/μεμαώς), and – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ (as in ἐμμεμαῶτες/μεμαῶτες). The development of the longer form also allowed the participle to be positioned for the first time at the beginning of the verse, where it in fact resides in five of its eleven Homeric instances.

The second has to do with the powerful force of analogy. Words and word combinations that overlapped semantically and syntactically with ἐμμεμαώς/μεμαώς may have presented some motivation for the development of the longer form. I am thinking, for example, of the adverb ἐμμαπέως, which, in addition to being a near homonym, overlaps with ἐμμεμαώς semantically ('hastily,' 'eagerly,' etc.) and syntactically (cf. ἐμμεμαὼς ἐπόρουσεν at *Il.* 20.284, 442 and ἐμμαπέως ἀπόρουσεν at *Il.* 5.836). One might also consider the adverb ἐμμενές, which overlaps semantically with ἐμμεμαώς ('continuously'), and even the participial forms of ἐμβαίνω, such as ἐμβεβαυῖα, for which Plato actually substitutes ἐμμεμαυῖα in a quotation of *Il.* 24.81 (*Ion* 538d2).

For all these reasons the temptation to develop a longer form of μεμαώς was irresistible; and the trigger for its development was most likely junctural metanalysis.

ἐλάχεια / λάχεια

In Book 9 of the *Odyssey* Odysseus describes to his Phaeacian hosts an island that lies some distance off shore from the land of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.116–17):

> νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια παρὲκ λιμένος τετάνυσται
> γαίης Κυκλώπων οὔτε σχεδὸν οὔτ' ἀποτηλοῦ

The adjective used of the island—λάχεια—occurs only once elsewhere in Homer, in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*, in Circe's description to Odysseus of a beach by the groves of Persephone near the entrance to Hades (*Od.* 10.509):

> ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης

The adjective has puzzled lexicographers and commentators on Homer since antiquity. It is lexically isolated, occurring in this form nowhere else in all of Greek, except in the lexica and commentaries on these

very passages.[37] Several solutions present themselves: that it is a word that has disappeared elsewhere in Greek and so has no identifiable cognates (except perhaps in other Indo-European languages); that it is a cognate of some other recognizable Greek word or nexus of words (as well as, possibly, of words in other Indo-European languages); that it is an avatar of a word that occurs in the Greek lexicon but in a somewhat different form.

Those who advocate the first solution have offered that λάχεια (or λέχεια) is a proper noun, the name of the νῆσος at *Od.* 9.116, and possibly even of the ἀκτή at *Od.* 10.509, Odysseus supposedly having been informed about this either by Circe or the Homeric Muse.[38] Or that λάχεια means 'wild' and 'uncultivated,' this meaning being surmised simply from the passages' contexts.[39] Or that λάχεια means 'low' or 'flat,' a meaning again surmised from the contexts of the passages, but also with recourse to some imagined cognates in the Germanic language group: OWNo. *lágr* 'low,' MHG *laege* 'flat,' NE *low*, etc.[40]

Those who advocate the second solution have offered that λάχεια is related to the verb λαχαίνω 'dig' and the noun λάχανον 'a plant,' and so it describes a land that is 'able to be cultivated' and is therefore 'fertile.'[41] Or that λάχεια means 'wooded' or 'forested,' this suggestion

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[37] The reading οὔτε λάχεια does occur in many manuscripts of *H.Ap.* 197, but οὔτ' ἐλάχεια is an apposite reading there, since the adjective ἐλαχύς, ἐλάχεια, ἐλαχύ makes perfect sense semantically in the context (the goddess Artemis is big and awesome, not ugly and 'not small'), and since an analogous formula, with the negated adjective, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον appears in the same metrical position in *H.Herm.* 573 (cf. Euenus fr. 3.1). The only other possible exceptions are Nicander's obscure and possibly corrupt compound epithets λαχειδέος of a toad (*Alexipharmaca* 568) and λαχυφλοίοιο of some kind of nut (*Alexipharmaca* 269), both probably imitative of Homer.

[38] Scholia on *Od.* 9.116: λάχεια ἢ τὸ τῆς νήσου ὄνομα γνωσθὲν ἐκ Κίρκης Ὀδυσσεῖ; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 9.116: τινὲς μέντοι τὸ λάχεια ὄνομα τῆς νήσου ὑπώπτευσαν, ὡς γνωσθὲν διὰ Κίρκης τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐξ ἐρωτήσεως; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 9.116: εἰ δὲ καὶ κύριόν ἐστι τοπικὸν ὄνομα κατὰ τὴν προρηθεῖσαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸ τῶν Κυκλώπων, εἰδείη ἂν ἡ Ὁμηρικὴ Μοῦσα καὶ Κίρκη. Of modern scholars *Stanford, Commentary* on *Od.* 9.116 entertains this as a possibility in the first passage; Ch. de Lamberterie (1975) 233–235 does in both passages. The alternative spelling of the island is found only in the sparse remains of Polybius of Sardis' Περὶ τῶν τῆς Κατασκευῆς Εἰδῶν, where the rhetor refers to the island as Λέχεια and quotes the first half of *Od.* 9.116 as νῆσος ἔπειτα Λέχεια.

[39] So, for example, *Ameis, Odyssey Commentary* on 9.116, 10.509.

[40] So, for example, L. von Doederlein (1850-1858) III 88, A. Fick, et al. (1890-1909) I 531, W. Prellwitz (1892) 262, *Bechtel* sub λαχύς, *Hofmann* sub λάχεια.

[41] It is remarkable that modern scholars are silent about this possibility, since it was by far the most common explanation of the ancients: scholia on *Od.* 9.116: οἱ δὲ τὴν εὔσκαφον, οἱ δὲ τὴν εὔγειον, τὴν λαχαίνεσθαι καὶ σκάπτεσθαι δυναμένην… λάχεια ἡ εὔγειος, ἡ ἐπιτηδεία εἰς τὸ λαχαίνεσθαι ἤτοι σκάπτεσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ λάχανον…λάχεια,

being sometimes based simply on the contexts of the passages, and especially the nearby vocabulary: the island in Book 9 of the *Odyssey* is called ὑλήεσσα 'wooded' (9.118—poplars are mentioned specifically at 9.141), and it is ἄσπαρτος 'unsown' and ἀνήροτος 'unploughed' (9.123); the groves of Persephone in Book 10 of the *Odyssey* are said to contain poplars and willows (10.510). But this suggestion is sometimes also supported by a perceived relationship with a group or groups of Greek cognates including: λάχνος 'wool,' λάχνη 'hair, down,' λαχνήεις 'shaggy, bristly, downy,' λαχαίνω 'dig' or, possibly, 'prune.'[42]

Those who advocate the third solution have turned to the common adjective ἐλαχύς, ἐλάχεια, ἐλαχύ, 'small, short, trivial,' as a word to be considered in resolving the etymology of λάχεια.[43] The adjective

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ἀπὸ τοῦ λαχαίνω. οὕτως ἀναγνωστέον, ἵν' ᾖ εὔγεως, εὔσκαφος, παρὰ τὸ δύνασθαι αὐτὴν λαχαίνεσθαι καὶ σκάπτεσθαι. εὐάροτος γῆ; scholia on *Od.* 10.509 (= Aristonicus): βαθεῖα, εὔγεως, εὔσκαφος...ἐκ τοῦ λαχαίνω τὸ σκάπτω. Cf. Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub λαχαίνειν: σκάπτειν· 'ἤτοι ὁ μὲν κατέχων κεφαλὴν φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινεν.' ὅθεν καὶ λάχανον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ περισκάπτεσθαι καὶ κουφίζεσθαι τὴν γῆν φυτευόμενον καὶ αὐξανόμενον. καὶ λάχεια νῆσος ἡ εὔσκαφος; *Hesychius* sub λάχεια· εὔσκαφος καὶ εὔγειος· παρὰ τὸ λαχαίνεσθαι, ὅ ἐστι σκάπτεσθαι πυκνῶς; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 9.116: ἕτεροι δὲ, λάχειαν, τὴν εὔγεων φασὶ καὶ ἐπιτηδείαν λαχαίνεσθαι ἤτοι σκάπτεσθαι, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ λάχανον; *Et. Magn.* sub Λαχαίνειν: Τὸ σκάπτειν· ἤτοι παρὰ τὸ λάχειαν γίνεσθαι τὴν γῆν θρυπτομένην· ἢ παρὰ τὸ σφόδρα χαίνειν αὐτὴν σκαπτομένην. Καὶ λάχανον ἐντεῦθεν, παρὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τοῦ σκάπτεσθαι. Καὶ λάχεια νῆσος ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάπτεσθαι εἰς βάθος δύνασθαι; *Et. Gen.* sub Λάχεια (= *Et. Magn.*): σημαίνει δὲ τὴν καλῶς ἐσκαμμένην γῆν. παρὰ τὸ ΛΑ ἐπιτατικόν. ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ χαίρω χάρεια καὶ ἀνθῶ ἄνθεια καὶ κρατῶ κράτεια, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαχῶ λάχεια διὰ τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου. τὰ γὰρ ἀπὸ ἐνεστῶτος διὰ τοῦ ΕΙΑ γινόμενα θηλυκὰ προπαροξύνονται, οἷον μήδω Μήδεια, θέρω θέρεια, σάμφω Σάμφεια, ἀνθῶ Ἄνθεια; *Et. Gud.* sub Λάχεια: σημαίνει τὸν ἐσκαμμένην γῆν, καὶ γίνεται παρὰ τὸ λάχω λάχεια, ὡς κρατῶ κράτεια.

[42] So *Cunliffe* sub λάχεια; Ch. de Lamberterie (1975) and (1990) 179–181, who adds to this family of perceived cognates another group of words including: λόχος 'a place of ambush, i.e., bushes,' and λόχμη, which he takes to mean 'a wooded area, a copse'; M. Nyman (1984), who agrees with Lamberterie on all important points (see esp. 83 on λάχεια), and offers, via a Slavic connection (OCS *loza* 'vine,' Russ. *lozá* 'shoot, twig,' etc.), the PIE root **lagh-* as the source of Lamberterie's nexus of Greek words in λαχ-.

[43] So scholia on *Od.* 9.116 (= Zenodotus): [νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια] Ζηνόδοτος, τὴν βραχεῖαν, γράφων διὰ τοῦ ε, ἐλάχεια). Cf. *Eustathius* on *Od.* 9.116: εἰ δὲ γράφεται τετρασυλλάβως ἐλάχεια, εἴη ἄν, ὥσπερ λιγὺς λίγεια, οὕτω καὶ ἐλαχὺς ἐλάχεια ἡ ἐλαχίστη; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 9.116 Λάχεια δὲ, ἡ ἐλαχίστη κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς. ὥστε γράφοιτ' ἂν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ ἐλάχεια; *Suda* sub Λάχεια γῆ· βραχεῖα; scholia on Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* 269: γράφεται δὲ καὶ λαχυφλοίοιο, ἤτοι ἐλάχιστον φλοιὸν ἔχοντος; λαχυφλοίοιο· μικροφύλλου. Though in opposition, this view is also recorded in the scholia on *Od.* 10.509 (= Aristonicus): οὐ δεῖ δὲ γράφειν ἐλάχεια. οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἐλάχιστον ἀκούειν τῆς Περσεφόνης τὸ τέμενος), and in the *Et. Magn.* sub Λαχαίνειν: οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὴν (i.e., λάχειαν) ἐλάχειαν εἶναι, ὅ ἐστι σμικράν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ περιεχομένου ἐλέγχονται "Παρὲκ λιμένος τετάνυσται," πῶς γὰρ παρατέταται, μικρὰ

ἐλαχύς is the Greek reflex of PIE **leng^wh-* 'light' (cf. Sk. *laghú-*, Latin *levis*, NE *light*, etc.).[44] A prothetic vowel ἐ- either arose spontaneously in Greek, as often before the resonant λ (cf. ἐλεύθερος),[45] or it is a residue of an Indo-European laryngeal (i.e., PIE **H_1leng^wh-*) that was lost in all other languages.[46]

The adjective is not very common in early Greek poetry, but it occurs in several different forms—positive, comparative, and superlative—even from the earliest period: Homer, Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, and Pindar.[47] The comparative and superlative forms can also be found in early prose (Aesop, Anaxagoras, Anaximander, Xenophanes, Hecataeus, etc.) and in the 5th century tragedians.

If ἐλαχύς, ἐλάχεια, ἐλαχύ is related to the Homeric adjective λάχεια, used of the island in Book 9 of the *Odyssey* and of the beach in Book 10 of the *Odyssey*, we would expect λάχεια to mean 'small' or 'short' in these contexts. This has been one understanding of the meaning of the adjective since antiquity (see n. 43), and it does indeed seem to fit the context of both Homeric passages tolerably well. In contrast to the land of the Cyclopes, which is notable for its hollow caves perched up on the high mountains (*Od.* 9.113–14), the island some distance off shore described at *Od.* 9.116 is just the opposite: it stretches out flat from its harbor (9.116); it is arable, indeed fertile, and this arable land is λείη 'smooth' (9.134–35; λείη, interestingly, is a word etymologically related to ἐλαχύς); there are soft, moist meadows even by the sea shore (9.132–33); its harbor is calm and sheltered (9.136–37); Odysseus and his men are in fact able to drive their ships right up onto the beach

οὖσα. Many modern scholars have assented to this view: *Goebel* vol. 2, 201–202—though he also allows for influence from λαχαίνω; M. Leumann (1950) 54, who proposes that a misdivision of vowels occurred already in pre-Homeric poetry and was guaranteed by *Od.* 9.116, and who posits as a model for this passage an expression such as *νῆσος δελαχεια; M. van der Valk (1949) 98; *DELG* sub ἐλαχύς; W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1972) 13–15; *LfgE* sub λάχεια, ἐλαχύς; *Heubeck, Commentary* on *Od.* 9.116.

[44] So *Pokorny* sub **leg^wh- DELG* sub ἐλαχύς, *GEW* sub ἐλαχύς, Ch. de Lamberterie (1990) 183–186, etc.

[45] So M. Lejeune (1955) 128, W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1972) 13–15, A.L. Sihler (1995) 85, etc.

[46] So R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 41, (1995) 61, *DELG Suppl.* sub ἐλαφρός, ἐλαχύς.

[47] Positive: *H.Ap.* 197: οὔτ' ἐλάχεια is used to describe the large stature of the goddess Artemis; Pindar's *Pythian Odes* 4.17 has the compound epithet ἐλαχυπτερύγων and fragments 52d.14 and 52ga.5–6 appear to have the compound epithet ἐλαχύνωτον. Comparative: *Il.* 19.357: ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἄπεσαν δουρηνεκὲς ἢ καὶ ἔλασσον; Hesiod fr. 43a line 50:]εν ελασσωνουν[. Superlative: *H.Herm.* 573: οὐκ ἐλάχιστον is used to describe the considerable gift of Hades to Hermes.

and encamp there (9.138–39, 142–51). The adjective ἐλάχεια suits the context well: in contrast to most Greek islands, whose sheer and rocky coasts would appear menacing, especially when seen from a ship at sea, this island is remarkable in being 'low-lying' or 'flat,' even along the coast—surely a most welcome sight for the weary sailor seeking safe harbor or a place to beach a ship. The beach described by λάχεια at *Od.* 10.509 is similar. It is a sandy area where Odysseus' ship can beach itself (10.511), and the groves of Persephone are right along this shore (10.509). Again the adjective ἐλάχεια, if understood to mean 'low-lying' or 'flat,' is apt for the context.

It is even tempting to conclude, as Zenodotus reportedly did, and as several manuscripts bear witness, that νῆσος ἔπειτ' ἐλάχεια is the correct reading rather than νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια, and ἔνθ' ἀκτή τ' ἐλάχεια rather than ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια.[48] But this would be incorrect, for the issue here is not simply a textual one about the choices of scribes during the Classical and Hellenistic periods; rather, it is an oral/aural issue about the singing of bards during the pre-Homeric period. Λάχεια is what the bard sang in both passages, and that should be the reading in our texts. The variant ἐλάχεια can be explained as a scribal attempt to make sense of λάχεια in both passages (i.e., the principal of *lectio difficilior potior* applies here). The metrical environment suggests the same, for λάχεια violates Meyer's first law,[49] egregiously in the first passage (νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια), more subtly, with the enclitic, in the second (ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια). Hence λάχεια is to be preferred on the principal of *metrum difficilius potius*.[50] In short, no scribe would have introduced a semantically nebulous and metrically irregular reading in place of a semantically clear and metrically regular one.

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[48] Variants of λάχεια at 9.116: ἐλάχεια Zenodotus (acc. to Aristonicus, *De Signis Odysseae* on 9.116); ἀλάχεια Allen's family o; Λάχεια acc. to Eustathius; Λέχεια acc. to Polybius of Sardis. Variants of λάχεια at 10.509: ἐλάχεια Zenodotus (acc. to Aristonicus, *De Signis Odysseae* on 10.509); τ' ἐλάχεια many mss.; κ' ἐλάχεια P^6.

[49] That there very rarely occurs (2.7% of verses in *Il.*, 1.9% in *Od.*) a caesura after the trochee of the second foot, unless there occurs a caesura also after the princeps of the second foot or a diaeresis between the first and second foot.

[50] On a less significant, but related, note, the elided form ἔπειτ' is much more common than unelided ἔπειτα in this position in the dactylic hexameter verse (92 of a total of 103 occurrences of ἔπειτ' in Homer in contrast to 47 of a total of 357 occurrences of ἔπειτα), so, in the case of *Od.* 9.116, ἔπειτα is to be preferred on the basis of both the above principals.

The texts of these two passages, then, should read λάχεια. But this does not mean that λάχεια is unrelated to ἐλάχεια, just that, if λάχεια is a metanalyzed version of ἐλάχεια, the metanalysis must have occurred long before the Homeric epics became a text, during the bardic phase of transmission. Moreover, the metanalysis most likely occurred in a formulaic phrase that was regularly situated somewhere else in the dactylic hexameter verse. From there the already metanalyzed form λάχεια was imported to the position where we see it in the two passages under consideration.

How did this metanalysis take place? The Homeric text itself points the way to the most likely avenue. We can begin with a formulaic phrase or family of phrases that occupied the verse-end adonean (i.e., bucolic diaeresis to verse end):

> *H.Ap.* 197: τῇσι μὲν οὔτ' αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλπεται οὔτ' ἐλάχεια.

Comparative and superlative forms are found in this position as well:

> *Il.* 19.357: ἀλλ' ὅτε δή ῥ' ἄπεσαν δουρηνεκὲς ἢ καὶ ἔλασσον
> *H.Herm.* 573: ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἐὼν δώσει γέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

It is worth noting that these latter two formulas are common as expressions in early Greek prose (Hippocrates, Herodotus, Thucydides, etc.), and that, as we can readily observe, the adjective is very often combined with a negative, both in poetry and prose (Homeric Hymns, Euenus, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, etc.; Aesop, Anaxagoras, Hippocrates, Herodotus, Thucydides, etc.).

I suspect that there existed in the pre-Homeric epic *Kunstsprache* a formulaic family of negated adjectives of this adonean shape (e.g., οὔκ ἐλάχεια [cf. Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 37.314], οὐκ ἐλάχιστον [= *H.Herm.* 573, Euenus fr. 3.1], etc.), among which were included such expressions as:

> οὔτ' ἐλάχεια (= *H.Ap.* 197)
> μήτ' ἐλάχεια
> οὐδ' ἐλάχεια
> μηδ' ἐλάχεια
> οὔτ' ἐλάχιστον
> μήτ' ἐλάχιστον
> οὐδ' ἐλάχιστον
> μηδ' ἐλάχιστον (= Euenus fr. 2.1, *Anthologia Graeca* 11.49.1)

The phonetic environments of these expressions subjected their singers and hearers to the temptation to metanalyze them as οὔτε λάχεια, μήτε λάχεια, etc. And, of course, other common word combinations,

such as αὖτ' ἐλάχεια (cf. Oppian's *Cynegetica* 3.480) and δ' ἐλάχιστον (cf. *Certamen* 166, *Anthologia Graeca* 9.611.1), may have played a part as well.

Further, any folk-etymological associations with various other Greek words in λαχ- (λαχαίνω 'dig,' λάχανον 'a plant,' λάχνος 'wool,' λάχνη 'hair, down,' λαχνήεις 'shaggy, bristly, downy') may have contributed additional semantic temptation to metanalyze, or at least some semantic motivation for retaining a form already metanalyzed on phonetic grounds.

In any case, once the metanalysis of ἐλάχεια occurred the metanalyzed form λάχεια became generalized, took on a life of its own as a word in its own right, and was imported into such expressions as the two Homeric verses under consideration:

Od. 9.116: νῆσος ἔπειτα λάχεια παρὲκ λιμένος τετάνυσται
Od. 10.509: ἔνθ' ἀκτή τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης.

ἠβαιός / βαιός

The adjective ἠβαιός 'little' occurs ten times in Homer, nine of these in the adverbial or adjectival formula οὐδ' ἠβαιόν or οὐδ' ἠβαιαί ('not even a little'), which always falls between the bucolic diaeresis and verse end (*Il.* 2.380, 386; 13.106, 702; 14.141; 20.361; *Od.* 3.14; 18.355; 21.288). The formula is used adverbially to describe a lack of respite from battle for the Trojans, a lack of strength in battle by the Trojans, a lack of space in battle between the Aiantes, and a perceived lack of propriety in Telemachus. It is used adjectivally to describe Achilles and Odysseus' perceived lack of discretion, and—rather comically, given the formula's serious undertones elsewhere—the disguised Odysseus' lack of hair.

Only once in Homer does ἠβαιός occur outside this formulaic expression, only here in a different metrical position in the verse, and only here without a negative adverb preceding, in a description of Odysseus riding under the Cyclops' ram 'a little ways' from his cave (*Od.* 9.461–63):

ὣς εἰπὼν τὸν κριὸν ἀπὸ ἕο πέμπε θύραζε
ἐλθόντες δ' ἠβαιὸν ἀπὸ σπείους τε καὶ αὐλῆς
πρῶτος ὑπ' ἀρνειοῦ λυόμην, ὑπέλυσα δ' ἑταίρους.

The post-Homeric use of ἠβαιός is limited to poetry—it is completely absent in Greek prose—and even its occurrences in the poetic tradition

are infrequent, most being clearly imitative of Homer (i.e., it appears at the end of a hexameter verse, or in the collocation οὐδ' ἠβαιόν, or both): one verse of the elegiac poet Philetas; three verses of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*; an epic verse attributed to Homer by Aelius Aristides (though not included in our extant Homeric corpus); a verse almost identical to Homer's embedded in a poem of Phlegon Trallianus (quoted in the *Anthologia Graeca*); a verse of the late epic poet Quintus Smyrnaeus.[51] A few other poetic occurrences are not so clearly indebted to Homer: most notably, a hexameter verse in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*; also, a very fragmentary verse of Callimachus; a verse of the Hellenistic poet Numenius; and three verses of the late epic poet Oppian.[52] The complete absence of ἠβαιός in prose and its relative lexical isolation even within the poetic tradition suggest that the word in this form was never a part of the Greek vernacular.

The records of the ancient Homeric editors, lexicographers, and commentators present a picture of general agreement in antiquity about the meaning and etymology of ἠβαιός. All agree that the adjective means 'little, short, small' (τὸ μικρὸν ἢ ὀλίγον). Many record the opinion that there is an association with ἥβη 'youth,' noting that the acme of youth is 'short-lived.'[53] But the rough breathing of ἥβη posed an obstacle and led many to prefer instead an association with βαίνω 'to go' (the ἠ- being explained as 'pleonastic'), i.e., "where it is possible 'to go' in a short time" or "that which/he who 'goes/passes by' in a short time."[54] There was a third view—by far a minority view—that there resided an alpha-privative in the adjective, i.e., that ἠβαιός was equivalent to ἄβαιος (α-privative + βαίνω) "where it is 'impossible to go' because of the smallness of the place" or "having 'no place to step' because of the

[51] Philetas fr. 25.3; Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.635, 1024, 1201; Aelius Aristides Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν Τεττάρων 294 (in S. Jebb's edition); Phlegon Trallianus *De Mirabilibus* 2.11.14; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 4.223.

[52] *Catalogue of Women* fr. 204.141; Callimachus fr. 238.14; Numenius fr. 570.1; Oppian *Halieutica* 4.514, 521, 5.600.

[53] This opinion is recorded in *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 171, *Orion* sub ἠβαιόν, *Et. Gen.* sub βαιόν, *Et. Gud.* sub ἠβαιός, *Et. Magn.* sub ἠβαιόν, *Et. Sym.* sub βαιόν, and *Zonaras* sub ἥβη. It was resurrected almost two millennia later by H. Güntert (1914) 135–137, who appears to have been unaware of the opinions of his ancient counterparts.

[54] Παρὰ τὸ βῶ, τὸ βαίνω, βαιόν, οὗ ἐστι ἐπ' ὀλίγον βῆναι (cf. τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον οὕτως βαῖνον; ὁ ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον βεβηκώς): *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 171, *De Prosodia Catholica* 130, *Orion* sub ἠβαιόν, *Et. Gen.* sub βαιόν, *Et. Gud.* sub ἠβαιός, *Et. Magn.* sub βαιόν, *Et. Sym.* sub βαιόν, and *Zonaras* sub ἠβαιόν.

smallness of the place."[55] And, finally, there is preserved a very eccentric view that associated ἠβαιός with βαιών, a particularly unpleasant species of fish, presumably because of its 'small' size.[56] Whatever the etymology, almost all the ancient commentators agree that ἠβαιός is semantically equivalent to the much more common βαιός and means 'little,' the ἠ- of ἠβαιός being 'pleonastic' (or 'epenthetic,' or 'epectatic').[57]

Indeed βαιός, meaning 'little,' although absent in Homer, occurs frequently in Greek, both in its adjectival and adverbial forms, and already in the earliest poetic traditions (Hesiod, Solon, Ananius, Parmenides, Pindar); it is also common in the dramatic verse of the Classical period, both tragic and comic (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Antiphanes, Poliochus); and its use in poetry continues unabated through the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.[58] Although less common in prose, βαιός is found already in the prose of the earliest period (Hippocrates, Democritus), and it enjoys increased usage in the prose of the Hellenistic period (Critolaus [quoted by Philodemus], Philo, Dorotheus of Sidon) and later (Athenaeus, Aelian, Aretaeus, Simplicius, Meletius Medicus, Georgius Pachymeres). In addition, βαιός is common on inscriptions from the 4th c. B.C. through the Roman period, both in poetic and prosaic form. It seems clear from its frequent use in many different contexts during many different periods, especially in prose and in comic verse, that βαιός was a standard vernacular form; and everywhere it seems to mean precisely the same thing as Homeric ἠβαιός.

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[55] This opinion is recorded in the scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.635, in *Hesychius* sub ἠβαιόν, and in *Et. Magn.* sub ἠβαιόν.

[56] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.361: Τοῦ δὲ ἠβαιόν ὅτι προϋπάρχει τὸ βαιόν καὶ ὁ βαιός, δῆλόν ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ βαιών παρωνόμασται, ζητῆσαι χρή. ἔστι δὲ ἰχθὺς ὁ βαιὼν κατὰ τὸν Δειπνοσοφιστὴν ἀχάριστος, ἤγουν ἀχαρίτωτος, ἐξ οὗ Ἀττικὴ παροιμία τὸ "μή μοι βαιών, κακὸς ἰχθύς."

[57] So Philoxenus Grammaticus, Tryphon, Apollonius Dyscolus, Herodian, scholia to Homer, scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes, the various ancient etymological lexica, and Eustathius. These comments of the ancients are not very informative, however, as they simply label ἠβαιός as a 'pleonastic' (or 'epenthetic,' or 'epectatic') form of βαιός without any further explanation.

[58] Hellenistic poetry: Hermesianax, Diogenes the Cynic, Lycophron, Moschion, Aratus, Moschus, Herodas, Archestratus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Nicander, Sibylline Oracle, and Dorotheus of Sidon. Later poetry: the *Anthologia Graeca*, Aesop, Athenaeus, Oppian, Dionysius Periegetes, Babrius, Manetho, Synesius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Hephaestion Astrologus, Quintus, Nonnus, Christodorus, Eudocia Augusta, Pamprepius, Colluthus, Joannes Gazaeus, and Paulus Silentarius.

We must ask ourselves, then, whether we can, and should, read in our texts of Homer the form βαιός, which is so widely attested throughout the history of the Greek language, instead of the lexically isolated poeticism ἠβαιός, especially in the nine passages where we find the expression οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν or οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιαί, since these collocations of sounds could just as readily be divided οὐ δὴ βαιόν and οὐ δὴ βαιαί (for οὐ δή cf. *Od.* 7.239; also tragedy, comedy, and prose generally). Initially it may be tempting to do so, attributing οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν to scribal confusion over the word division of the formula owing to the *scriptio continua* of the ancient texts (i.e., ΟΥΔΗΒΑΙΟΝ).[59] Some ancient Homeric manuscripts are reported by the scholia to have actually recorded οὐ δὴ βαιόν instead of οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν at *Il.* 2.380, and perhaps elsewhere.[60] However, one must confront squarely the one Homeric passage where such a reconstruction is impossible: ἐλθόντες δ᾽ ἠβαιὸν ἀπὸ σπείους τε καὶ αὐλῆς (*Od.* 9.462). Here δ᾽ ἠβαιόν, not δὴ βαιόν, is clearly the correct Homeric form, since the connective δέ is required by the syntax of the passage. Whatever its origin, ἠβαιός had become a word in its own right already by the time of Homer. This conclusion from the evidence within Homer finds outside support in the use of an adjectival form of ἠβαιός (unquestionably with ἠ-) at the beginning of a hexameter verse of Hesiod (fr. 204.140–41):

> ἣ δ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόχυ̣τον θαλαμ̣[
> ἠβαιὴν ελ̣..ε̣ι̣ρα κατὰ χθ̣[ονός

By extension, then, it seems justifiable to read ἠβαιός, not βαιός, in the nine other Homeric passages as well, along with the almost unanimous testimony of the manuscript tradition.

But even though ἠβαιός was almost certainly the form sung by Homer—and so should be the form printed in our modern editions—it is likely that βαιός rather than ἠβαιός was the earlier pre-Homeric form, having been metanalyzed as ἠβαιός during the oral/aural stage of the epics' transmission of the formula under consideration (i.e., οὐ δὴ βαιόν > οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν). Thereafter, but before the time of Homer,

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[59] There should have been no confusion, however, during the earlier textual periods of epic transmission, for, given the *scriptio plena* of the most ancient texts, οὐ δὴ βαιόν would have been written ΟΥΔΗΒΑΙΟΝ, while οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν would have been written ΟΥΔΕΗΒΑΙΟΝ.

[60] So A scholia on *Il.* 2.380 (= Herodian); Herodian also records ἐλθόντες δὴ βαιὸν for ἐλθόντες δ᾽ ἠβαιὸν at *Od.* 9.462—which is impossible (see below).

ἠβαιός would have evolved into a word in its own right, as in *Od.* 9.462: ἐλθόντες δ' ἠβαιὸν (cf. Hesiodic ἠβαιήν [fr. 204.141]). The two words are semantically indistinguishable, and the Homeric texts themselves offer a ready phonetic avenue—in nine of the ten occurrences of the word—through which a pre-Homeric junctural metanalysis (οὐ δὴ βαιόν > οὐδ' ἠβαιόν) could easily have occurred.

M. Leumann was the first to propose this development systematically, although T. Bergk, O. Fröhde, and A. Fick had earlier expressed their own suspicions that an original οὐδ' ἦ βαιόν (Bergk and Fröhde) or οὐ δὲ βαιόν (Fick) had been misread in an early Homeric text as οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.[61] As to these earlier suggestions, they were of course based on the assumption of a scribal misanalysis of the *scriptio continua* of early Homeric texts, not of a bardic oral/aural metanalysis. In any case, the reconstructions are not feasible, as the collocation οὐδ' ἦ (Bergk and Fröhde), with a negative followed by an asseverative particle, is not Homeric, and is in fact not even Greek, and the collocation οὐ δὲ βαιόν (Fick) contains a cretic, unless one is to regard βαιόν as a three-syllable word, and so cannot be accommodated in dactylic hexameter verse. But Leumann too, although proposing a more feasible reconstruction (οὐ δὴ βαιόν), and although inferring that the shift was pre-Homeric, was still thinking in terms of textual misanalysis. C.J. Ruijgh has affirmed Leumann's reconstructed collocation οὐ δὴ βαιόν, but he has positioned its development into Homeric οὐδ' ἠβαιόν well back in the oral period of epic transmission by detecting a dialectal motivation behind the metanalysis: namely, that the Aeolic and Ionic dialects were failing to retain βαιός in their vernacular at the same time as οὐδέ was being substituted for οὐ δή in current usage. Hence an Achaean formula οὐ δὴ βαιόν evolved into οὐδ' ἠβαιόν among the Aeolian and Ionian bards (including Homer).[62] This seems a natural, even predictable, development, especially given the widely accepted opinion that the particle δέ is a phonetic abridgement of δή.[63]

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[61] M. Leumann (1950) 50; T. Bergk, as reported by K.F. Ameis in *Ameis, Odyssey Commentary on* 9.462; O. Fröhde, in A. Bezzenberger, et al. (edd.) (1877–1906) vol. 7, 328; A. Fick, et al. (1890-1909) 397. In spite of its difficulties, O. Szemerényi (1965) 12, n. 49 has continued to advocate Bergk's proposal.

[62] C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 143.

[63] On δέ as a phonetic abridgment of δή, see *DELG* sub δέ; Chantraine (*DELG* sub ἠβαιός) is generally supportive of Leumann's analysis of ἠβαιός.

Although some modern lexicographers have continued to try to explain the ἠ- of ἠβαιός as a semantically meaningful prefix (a copulative or intensive prefix, a prefix denoting deficiency, a pronominal or adverbial particle, etc.), no explanation is as convincing phonetically, morphologically, and semantically as that of Leumann and Ruijgh.[64] In short, the evolution from οὐ δὴ βαιόν to οὐδ' ἠβαιόν seems as apparent and uncomplicated a case of pre-Homeric junctural metanalysis as we can hope to find.

It is true that metrical considerations might be thought to complicate the matter: i.e., that the reconstructed formula οὐ δὴ βαιόν, with its fifth-foot spondee composed of two separate words, is metrically highly irregular. But on the principle of *metrum difficilius potius* these considerations are better marshaled in support of the proposed evolution than against it. And if this collocation of words at verse-end seems rather to border on a case of *metrum impossibile*, one simply need consider that the formula may have begun its life in a different part of the verse in earlier epic and only migrated over to verse-end after the metanalysis made this metrically unobjectionable.

As an addendum it may be worthwhile to observe that since the Linear B documents record only οὔτε (*o-u-qe*), never οὐδέ (*o-u-de*), and since, as we have shown, the evolution of οὐ δὴ βαιόν > οὐδ' ἠβαιόν (with οὐδέ understood) was fully accomplished before Homer

[64] *Goebel* vol. 1, 260, vol. 2, 312, 495 regarded the ἠ- as an ἀ-copulative or ἀ-intensive, from ἀ-σβαιός < ἀ-σπαϝ, which is related to παῦρος 'small.' But these connections are very tenuous and as a whole leave an unconvincing line of development. W. Prellwitz (1905) 124–126 proposed that ἠ- is a prefix meaning 'further/away from'—from PIE **ā-*—and adduces Homeric ἤπειρος, ἠπεδανός, ἠμύω, ἐπηβολή, ἑκατηβόλος, κατηφέω, ἠίθεος, and ἠβαιός, among several other Greek compounds. But of the Homeric examples this etymology works meaningfully only for ἤπειρος ('the further shore'), which has a cognate in Germanic *Ufer*. K. Brugmann (1897–1916) 2, 2, 817, A. Walde (1927–1932) 95–96, and *Pokorny* sub **ē, ō* suggested that ἠ- is a pronominal or adverbial particle—from PIE **ē*—meaning 'nearby, together,' which is realized in several different vocalizations in Greek (ὀ-, ὠ-, ἐ-, ἠ-); G. Babiniotis (1968) 377–378 concurs, proposing further that an earlier οὐ δ' ἠβαιός was mistakenly divided during the textual transmission as οὐ δὴ βαιός—so also, though with more hesitation, G.C. Papanastassiou (1994) 115. But there are no acceptable comparands in Greek for this origin and meaning of ἠ-. L. Deroy (1983) 20-21 has related the η- of ἠβαιός to the Latin prefix *ve-*, which can denote an imperfection owing to a deficiency in the word to which it is attached (e.g., Latin *vesanus, vecors*, and perhaps *vemens*). But in Greek βαιός seems to mean virtually the same thing as ἠβαιός (the latter is not an attenuative form of the former), and besides there is no trace of a digamma in ἠβαιός. L. Melazzo (1993) adduces the same attenuating prefix and traces it back to PIE **wē-*, but his proposal is vulnerable to the same objections as Deroy's.

(as shown by *Od.* 9.462), the metanalysis must have occurred some time between the 12th and 8th c. B.C., during the oral/aural period of epic transmission. But this is simply to state what has become increasingly obvious.

θειλόπεδον / εἰλόπεδον

As the storm-tossed Odysseus approaches the magnificent palace of the Phaeacian king Alcinous, among the sights that cause him to stand in awe—the bronze walls, golden portals, and silver door posts; the silver and gold guard dogs; the fine weaving of the women—the orchard, vineyard, and garden merit special notice, and the poet lavishes upon them extraordinary attention. The description of the vineyard is especially fine and detailed (*Od.* 7.122–26):

> ἔνθα δέ οἱ πολύκαρπος ἀλωὴ ἐρρίζωται,
> τῆς ἕτερον μὲν θειλόπεδον λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ
> τέρσεται ἠελίῳ, ἑτέρας δ' ἄρα τε τρυγόωσιν,
> ἄλλας δὲ τραπέουσι· πάροιθε δέ τ' ὄμφακές εἰσιν (125)
> ἄνθος ἀφιεῖσαι, ἕτεραι δ' ὑποπερκάζουσιν.

Of the many obstacles to a clear understanding this passage, the most notorious is the meaning of the Homeric *hapax legomenon* θειλόπεδον (7.123). It seems to denote an area of the vineyard (ἀλωή) that is notably smooth and level (λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ) and that is dried by the sun (τέρσεται ἠελίῳ). The context also implies that this is where the already harvested grapes are being dried, in contrast to those grapes that are still being picked (ἑτέρας δ' ἄρα τε τρυγόωσιν) and those that are already being trodden (ἄλλας δὲ τραπέουσι)—i.e., the poet seems to be describing here three stages in the process of wine-making.[65]

The post-Homeric attestations of θειλόπεδον that are not directly dependent on this passage (i.e., not commenting on Homer's use of the word here) support this view. In poetry, there are five different elegiac couplets from the *Anthologia Palatina* that use θειλόπεδον in its nominal form, both in the singular and plural, to denote a garden, an orchard, or, more specifically, a vineyard (6.45.2, 6.169.2, 7.457.8, 9.586.6, 9.668.10). In prose, the 1st c. A.D. medical writer Dioscorides (*De Materia Medica*

[65] On this process of wine-making see Hesiod's *Works and Days* 609–14 and scholia thereon.

1.32.1.3), in his recipe for the preparation of castor oil, advises that the seeds of the castor-oil tree be dried by spreading them about in the sun in the manner of the θειλόπεδον. Dioscorides also uses verbal forms of θειλόπεδον: first, in his description of a wine whose grapes have been dried in the sun (θειλοπεδευθείσης), apparently off the branch, in contrast to grapes that have been dried while on the branch;[66] again, in his description of the preparation of a wine from Lesbos, in which he speaks of unripe grapes being dried in the sun (θειλοπεδευομένης) for three or four days until they are wrinkled;[67] and, again, in a description of the preparation of a particular wine, in which he calls for taking a measure of sweet wine from the grapes that have been dried in the sun (τεθειλοπεδευμένης).[68] Dioscorides even uses verbal compounds that have been built on the root θειλόπεδον: in describing the process of mixing grape juice with sea water, he mentions that some mix it right after harvesting the grapes, while others let the grapes dry beforehand (προθειλοπεδεύουσι).[69] Also in prose, a scholium on Hesiod's *Works and Days* 612 attempts to explain Hesiod's phrase δεῖξαι δ' ἠελίῳ (to expose [grapes] to the sun) by referring to the process with the verb form θειλοπεδεύειν (ἐκάλουν τοῦτο θειλοπεδεύειν). And a scholium on Euripides' *Orestes* 1492 lists θειλόπεδα as places—along with meadows, gardens, and vineyards (ἀμπελῶνες)—where farmers make use of staffs. This was also how θειλόπεδον was understood by many of the ancient grammarians and lexicographers, who attempted to explain its use in Homer: cf. the Homeric scholia on *Od.* 7.123 and Eustathius' comments on the passage.[70]

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[66] *De Materia Medica* 5.6.4.1: ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς θειλοπεδευθείσης σταφυλῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν κλημάτων ὀπτηθείσης καὶ τριβομένης γινόμενος γλυκύς.

[67] *De Materia Medica* 5.6.14.2: ὁ δὲ καλούμενος ὀμφακίτης σκευάζεται ἰδίως ἐν Λέσβῳ, θειλοπεδευομένης μήπω κατὰ πάντα πεπείρου τῆς σταφυλῆς οὔσης, ἔτι δὲ ὀξιζούσης, ἐπὶ ἡμέρας γ′ ἢ δ′, ἕως ἂν ῥυσωθῶσιν οἱ βότρυες.

[68] *De Materia Medica* 5.72.3.2: ἐκ τεθειλοπεδευμένης σταφυλῆς λαβὲ γλεύκους μετρητὴν.

[69] *De Materia Medica* 5.19.1.3: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθέως μετὰ τὸ τρυγηθῆναι τὴν σταφυλὴν μειγνύουσι θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ προθειλοπεδεύουσι καὶ οὕτω πατοῦσι μειγνύντες θάλασσαν). And again, similarly, at *De Materia Medica* 5.28.1.4: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ προθειλοπεδεύουσιν ἐν ἡλίῳ καὶ ξηράναντες…

[70] Also, though not so explicitly with reference to Homer's use of the term, Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum, Herodian* Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας, *Hesychius, Et. Magn., Et. Parv., Et. Gud.*, Georgius Choeroboscus *De Orthographia, Suda, Zonaras* (all sub θειλόπεδον).

Finally there is possibly a use of θειλόπεδον on a fragmentary 2nd c. B.C. inscription from the Carian town of Olymos, near Mylasa, concerning a land deed (*I. Mylasa* 843):

> [Διονυσικλῆν Μενεκράτου κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν] Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Διονυσικλεί[ους Μαυννίτην—]
> [—Ἀντίπατρον Ἑρμίου τοῦ] Ἀντιπάτρου Κορμοσκωνεῖς, ΙΕ[—]
> [—]τοσ, Ἀριστέαν Ἰάσονος τοῦ Ἀντιλέ[οντος Κορμοσκωνέα—]
> [—]ν Λέοντος Μαιυννίτην, Ἀριστ[έαν—]
> [—τοῦ Ὀλυμέ]ων δήμου εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ὀ[λυμίδι—]
> [—σὺν τῶι προσόντι] καλάμωι καὶ τῶι ἐνόντι θιλοπέ[δωι—]
> [—Θυ]σσου κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Παιωνί[ου—]
> [—τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ—]ν φέρουσαν, Μέλανος τοῦ Εἰ[ρηναίου—]

Line six appears to include in the deed a θειλόπεδον (with -ι- for -ει-), along with an adjacent reed bed.[71]

But although the general meaning of θειλόπεδον may be elicited from an examination of the various contexts in which it appears, its etymology remains far from clear. Other than in the noun form θειλόπεδον and the verb form (προ)θειλοπεδεύω, the morpheme θειλ- is unattested in all of Greek, with the sole exception of a name for a month—Θειλούθιος or Θηλούθιος—found on some Boeotian inscriptions. No satisfactory proposal has been offered to explain θειλ-. Some of the ancient lexicographers offered θεῖναι or θέσθαι ('to place'), θέρεσθαι ('to be warmed'), and even the definite article τό (see below); a connection with τερσῆναι ('to be dried') offered by some modern lexicographers is no less fanciful (see below).

From the depths of aporia, a very attractive solution offers itself: that θειλόπεδον is a modified form of εἱλόπεδον (i.e., 'a sun-warmed spot'), from εἵλη ('the warmth of the sun') and πέδον ('ground, earth, site'). Admittedly εἱλόπεδον itself is not a productive word in Greek, occurring only in the attempts of ancient lexicographers to explain θειλόπεδον. But εἵλη is a common morpheme in the Greek language, occurring in both nominal (εἵλησις, εἱληθερής, εἱλήιον, πρόσειλος, εὔειλος, ἄειλος) and verbal (εἱλέω, εἱληθερέω) forms. It is part of a large family of word forms related to the proto-Greek, and ultimately Indo-European, word

[71] W. Blümel (1988) 72 attributes the origin of the word in this inscription to a false interpretation of Homeric θ' εἱλόπεδον in *Od.* 7.123. *DELG Supplement* sub θειλόπεδον, on the other hand, mentions this inscription as a reason to prefer θειλόπεδον to θ' εἱλόπεδον in *Od.* 7.123.

for 'sun' (PIE **seH$_2$wel-* > Proto-Greek **hāwelios* > Aeolic ἀϝέλιος > Epic ἠέλιος > ἥλιος). The development of the specific form εἵλη seems to have followed an analogous route: PIE **seH$_2$welā* > Proto-Greek **hwelā* > *ϝελα, ἕλα > εἵλη (either by prothesis and contraction, or by analogy with ἥλιος). The second component πέδον has, of course, even more sterling qualifications as a productive Greek root of Indo-European origins, and it is commonly to be found, as here, functioning as a suffix: γεώπεδον/γήπεδον, ζάπεδον/δάπεδον, εὐρύπεδον, ἰσόπεδον, κραταίπεδον, οἰκόπεδον, οἰνόπεδον, χαλκόπεδον, etc.

This was the solution adopted by many of the ancient grammarians and lexicographers, who therefore, out of necessity, came to regard the theta of θειλόπεδον as 'superfluous,' 'pleonastic,' or 'prosthetic.' The Homeric scholia on *Od.* 7.123, Eustathius (in various places in both Homeric commentaries), Herodian (Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας sub θειλόπεδον), *Et. Magn.*, *Et. Parv.*, *Et. Gud.*, and Georgius Choeroboscus' *De Orthographia* (all sub θειλόπεδον), record the ancient opinion that the theta of θειλόπεδον is superfluous (περισσὸν τὸ θ) and that θειλόπεδον is a pleonastic form of εἱλόπεδον (εἱλόπεδον καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ θ θειλόπεδον); *Tryphon* Περὶ Παθῶν 1.11 and 3.2 categorizes θειλόπεδον as an example of prosthesis (πρόσθεσις). Eustathius (on *Od.* 7.123–24) is so confident in the authenticity of εἱλόπεδον that he even suggests that Homer himself provides an etymology for it in ἠελίῳ of the following verse, i.e., τέρσεται ἠελίῳ (ὡς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς παρετυμολογεῖ ἐν τῷ τέρσεται ἠελίῳ).

Modern lexicographers have followed suit. If there is any *communis opinio* about θειλόπεδον today, it is that it is a modified or mistaken form of εἱλόπεδον (see below).

But is there in fact an etymological relationship between the two words? And if so, what precisely is that relationship (beyond the uninformative observation that the longer form is 'superfluous' or 'pleonastic' or 'prosthetic')? Eustathius (on *Od.* 7.123) reports some ancient explanations, fanciful though they be: 1) that θειλόπεδον is a combination of the neuter definite article τό plus εἵλη plus πέδον (on the analogy of Doric θάτερον from τὸ ἅτερον = τὸ ἕτερον); 2) that θειλόπεδον is a combination of the infinitive θεῖναι plus εἵλη plus πέδον (i.e., a site that is positioned to catch the warmth of the sun). The second explanation, with θεῖναι or θέσθαι, is also recorded in the Homeric scholia on *Od.* 7.123. Hesychius (sub θειλόπεδον) offers as another, equally implausible, explanation θέρεσθαι plus ἥλιος plus πέδον (a site warmed by the sun).

Modern lexicographers have been no more successful in their search for an etymology of θειλ-; F.S. Sommer and É. Boisacq, for example, have proposed a solution that is as phonetically improbable as the proposals of the ancients: a connection with τερσῆναι ('to be dried').[72] But most modern lexicographers have simply defaulted by falling back on the uninformative explanations of their ancient counterparts: superfluidity, pleonasm, and prosthesis of theta.

There seem to me to be three possible responses to the question of whether or not there is an etymological relationship between θειλόπεδον and εἰλόπεδον: first, that there is no relationship between the two words. Θειλόπεδον is the correct reading of *Od.* 7.123. This is what is recorded unanimously in our inherited Homeric manuscripts. This is what Homer intended when he sang/dictated the *Odyssey*. This was a historically legitimate and meaningful word in the pre-Homeric epic *Kunstsprache* as well as in the Greek vernacular. Its etymology simply eludes us. The Homeric passage does not require a particle τε, so there is no reason to decapitate this perfectly legitimate word. As for εἰλόπεδον, it is simply a 'ghost word' invented by lexicographers in their attempts to explain the meaning of what was to them an etymologically inexplicable θειλόπεδον. And as for the elusive etymology of θειλόπεδον, it should not be too great a surprise that lexicographers have failed to find a satisfactory explanation for a Homeric *hapax legomenon* that is embedded in a technical description of the process of wine-making. The fairly productive use of θειλόπεδον, both in its nominal and verbal forms, in ancient authors—both of poetry and prose—supports this view. And among modern editors, commentators, and lexicographers who support, or at least apparently support, this view are: the several editors of the *Odyssey*, such as A. Ludwich and T.W. Allen, who print θειλόπεδον in their texts without any comment in their apparatus; J.B. Hainsworth, in his 1988 commentary on the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 7.123), who calls εἰλόπεδον a 'ghost-word,' known only to scholiasts and glossographers; and the 1999 supplement to Chantraine's etymological dictionary (sub θειλόπεδον), which points to the appearance of θιλοπε[on the fragmentary inscription *I. Mylasa* 843.6 as reason to favor θειλόπεδον as the Homeric form.

While this is admittedly the simplest solution—i.e., to claim that there is no problem—there are, of course, some troublesome objections

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72 F.S. Sommer (1905) 61 and *Boisacq* sub θειλόπεδον.

to this view. It leaves the word θειλόπεδον etymologically inexplicable. At the same time, εἵλη makes very good sense here semantically, as the ancients themselves observed, and it is too attractive a solution, whether as a simple emendation of a Homeric text, or as a hypothetical Ur-form of the vernacular, simply to brush it aside. Also, even though the manuscript tradition is unanimous in recording θειλόπεδον, not εἱλόπεδον, in this passage, the ancient commentators on the text clearly understood θειλόπεδον as being somehow associated with εἱλόπεδον. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that they even had manuscripts of epic verse that recorded the word εἱλόπεδον, perhaps even in the Homeric passage under consideration.

A second possible response is that there is a relationship between the two words, and that θ' εἱλόπεδον is the correct reading at *Od.* 7.123. The particle τε is suitably used here, indeed perhaps even called for (cf. *Il.* 2.90, 5.139, 6.147; *Od.* 22.304, etc.). Θειλόπεδον of the manuscripts is a result of scribal misanalysis owing to the *scriptio continua* that was used during much of the textual transmission of the *Odyssey*. There is no such word as θειλόπεδον in early Greek; it is a deformity, a monstrosity, a mistake, that has no place in our texts. Θ' εἱλόπεδον is what Homer intended when he sang/dictated the *Odyssey*. This is the form that he inherited from his epic predecessors. Εἱλόπεδον, meaning 'a sun-warmed spot,' (from εἵλη- and -πέδον), must have been a meaningful word in the pre-Homeric *Kunstsprache*, as well as a historically legitimate word in the Greek vernacular. Many of the ancient lexicographers supported this view in some form (see above). And most modern lexicographers and commentators concur, specifying that this is a case of post-Homeric scribal misanalysis: so L. von Doederlein, H. Ebeling, F. Bechtel, R.J. Cunliffe, M. Leumann, E. Schwyzer, H. Frisk, A.D. Ure, P. Chantraine, W.B. Stanford, J.B. Hofmann, W. Richter, A. Heubeck, and W. Blümel.[73] Several modern editions of the *Odyssey*, such as those of H. van Thiel and P. von der Mühll, print θ' εἱλόπεδον in their texts against the unanimity of the manuscript tradition for θειλόπεδον.

There are serious objections to this commonly held view. If θειλόπεδον was simply a scribal misanalysis of θ' εἱλόπεδον, owing to

[73] L. von Doederlein (1850–1858) 79; *Ebeling* sub θειλόπεδον; *Bechtel* sub εἱλόπεδον; *Cunliffe* sub θειλόπεδον; M. Leumann (1950) 44; *Schwyzer* I 102; *GEW* sub εἱλόπεδον; A.D. Ure (1955); *Chantraine, Grammaire* I 6; *DELG* sub εἱλόπεδον; *Stanford, Commentary* on *Od.* 7.123; *Hofmann* sub θειλόπεδον; W. Richter (1968) 132–133; A. Heubeck (1979) 167; W. Blümel (1988) 72.

the ambiguity of the *scriptio continua* of early texts, it is remarkable that every single extant manuscript of the *Odyssey* records θειλόπεδον. Scribal misanalyses usually result in a distribution of variant readings in the manuscripts: e.g., δακρυχέων and δάκρυ χέων at *Il.* 1.357, etc.; ἐΰφρονέων and ἐῢ φρονέων at *Il.* 1.73 etc.[74] It seems very unlikely that a relatively late scribal misanalysis, i.e., Hellenistic rather than Classical or Archaic, as in this case, would have permeated the entire manuscript tradition. And we know that a scribal misanalysis of the type purported to have occurred here would have had to have been late, for the early manuscripts of the Homeric texts were written *scriptio plena*, and would thus have left no ambiguity as to whether θειλόπεδον (ΘΕΙΛΟΠΕΔΟΝ or perhaps ΘΕΛΟΠΕΔΟΝ) or θ' εἰλόπεδον (ΘΕΕΙΛΟΠΕΔΟΝ or perhaps ΘΕΕΛΟΠΕΔΟΝ) was meant. Also, as has been noted, θειλόπεδον and its cognates were not infrequently used by ancient authors quite independently of Homer: five different elegiac couplets from the *Anthologia Palatina* use a noun form; Dioscorides uses both a noun form (once) and various verb forms (five times), including two verbal compounds; a scholium to Hesiod uses a verb form, and a scholium to Euripides a noun form; and an inscription from Olymos appears to include a noun form. It seems very unlikely that a Hellenistic scribal misanalysis of a single verse, even in a text as influential as Homer, would have spawned such a productive use of the term over a long period, both in poetry and prose, and both in nominal and verbal forms (including compound verbs). Neologisms that arise through misanalyses by Hellenistic scribes do not generally thrive in the vernacular: they usually appear for a very brief period of time and then fade away; they normally retain only one morphological value; and their use is often limited to poetry that is imitative of Homer (e.g., ἄκνηστιν, δηρινθήτην, στήτην).[75] If εἰλόπεδον, on the other hand, was the legitimate form throughout the history of the Greek language, both in epic poetry and in the vernacular, with the sole exception of this supposed Hellenistic scribal misanalysis of a single Homeric passage, why is εἰλόπεδον never attested elsewhere in Greek? We expect a much wider distribution of this term. And, finally, one must address the motivation here: why would a well-educated Hellenistic scribe, or, to put it more strongly, why would all well-educated Hellenistic scribes, have understood an

[74] For dozens of similar examples, see chapter three.
[75] For these and other examples, see chapter three.

etymologically transparent and meaningful collocation θ' εἱλόπεδον as an etymologically inexplicable and meaningless θειλόπεδον, and then have recorded the latter form universally in their texts? Surely there is something more going on here than simply a late scribal misanalysis.

A third possible response is that since the attribution of the ambiguities that have arisen to textual misanalysis during a fairly late scribal stage of transmission has led to no satisfying solution we should instead consider these ambiguities within the context of oral/aural metanalysis during the pre-Homeric bardic stage of transmission. If we do, we will see that both solutions proposed above are in some ways correct, but in other ways incorrect. Along with the first, I would concur that θειλόπεδον, the reading in all extant Homeric manuscripts, is what Homer intended when he sang/dictated the *Odyssey*. But along with the second, I believe that θειλόπεδον is a secondary form created by faulty word-division. This faulty word-division did not occur during the post-Homeric scribal period, however, but rather during the pre-Homeric bardic period. Θειλόπεδον was an oral/aural metanalysis by a bard's audience, probably another bard, of θ' εἱλόπεδον, not necessarily in the very passage under consideration—*Od.* 7.123—though possibly of a passage that looked very much like it. It goes without saying that θειλόπεδον and θ' εἱλόπεδον would have been phonetically indistinguishable in an oral/aural exchange. And perhaps some support for this proposal can be drawn from the fact that elided τε, or alternatively the potential for elision of τε, may have been the source of the phonetic ambiguities that resulted in other oral/aural metanalyses as well (e.g., τ' ἀνηλεγέος > τανηλεγέος, τε μεμαώς > τ' ἐμεμαώς; cf. οὔτε λάχεια > οὔτ' ἐλάχεια).

In sum, Homer inherited the already metanalyzed form θειλόπεδον from his bardic predecessors. That is what he meant in *Od.* 7.123; that is what was recorded in all the ancient manuscripts; and that is what should be recorded in our modern editions. During this early period the form had probably crept into the Greek vernacular as well, taking on a life of its own, not just as an echo of Homer, and not just as a poeticism, but in both nominal and verbal forms, even in Greek prose. Its etymology remained inexplicable, however, both to the ancient and modern lexicographer, except in the partial truth embedded in the widely held suspicion that it was related somehow (through superfluidity? pleonasm? prosthesis? scribal misanalysis?) to the etymologically transparent and meaningful εἱλόπεδον. This third solution then—a pre-Homeric oral/aural metanalysis of θ' εἱλόπεδον

as θειλόπεδον—satisfactorily answers all the objections that have been raised against the other two proposals.

ταvηλεγής / ἀvηλεγής

The adjective ταvηλεγής occurs eight times in Homer as an epithet of θάνατος 'death' in the formulaic expression ταvηλεγέος θανάτοιο (*Il.* 8.70; 22.210; *Od.* 2.100; 3.238; 11.171, 398; 19.145; 24.135). It is a lexically isolated word in Homer: it has no allomorphs, occurring only in this adjectival form, in the masculine, genitive, singular; and it occurs only in this noun-epithet formula, positioned between the third-foot trochaic caesura and the end of the dactylic hexameter verse. Here in its earliest attestation in the Greek language it appears already fossilized in an epic formula.

All its occurrences after Homer appear to draw upon Homer, not only in the direct quotations and remarks of the later Homeric editors, lexicographers, and commentators (see below), but also in the more indirect poetic imitations: Tyrtaeus (fr. 12.35), who uses the same noun-epithet formula ornamentally in exactly the same metrical position in the hexameter portion of an elegaic couplet (εἰ δὲ φύγῃ μὲν κῆρα ταvηλεγέος θανάτοιο); *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Epigrammata Demonstrativa* 285.3, another poetic attestation (though of much later date), again in precisely the same metrical position in the hexameter portion of an elegiac couplet (αὐτίκα γὰρ μετόπισθε ταvηλεγέος θανάτοιο); an adverbial form ταvηλεγέως μοῖρα on a late verse inscription from Phrygia (*SEG* I.450);[76] and a slightly modernized version of the Homeric formula ταvηλεγέος θανάτου on a Roman-era hexameter inscription from Germany (*IG* XIV.2562).

The ancient Homeric editors, lexicographers, and commentators were puzzled by the epithet and proposed various solutions. While there was some consensus that the first element was a form of ταναός ('long, tall, extended'), at least three different explanations were offered for the second element: the most frequent was a form of λέγω (λέχομαι 'lie down')—i.e., death that causes one to 'lie down for an extended period'; followed by ἄλγος ('suffering')—i.e., death that causes 'extended suffering'; and finally ἠλύγη ('shadow')—i.e., death that causes an 'extended

[76] Cf. W.M. Calder (1928) document 1:100, 3.

darkness.' Synonyms offered by the ancients include μακροκοίμητος, μεγαλοκοίμητος, μακροχρόνιος, πολυμέριμνος, and σκληρός, the first three apparently understanding the second element as λέχομαι, the latter two as ἄλγος.[77]

Many modern lexicographers have concurred with their ancient counterparts' analysis of the first element as ταναός, but they have generally favored ἄλγος (cf. adjectival ἀλεγεινός) over λέγω (λέχομαι) as the second element and have abandoned ἠλύγη altogether.[78] Reasonably so, since, in the latter case, ἠλύγη and its allomorphs are all post-Homeric, and in the former case, an adjectival compound of ταναός and λέχομαι would be expected to produce τανυλεχής, not τανηλεγής.

Modern lexicographers have proposed one additional solution for the second element: ἀλέγω, cf. ἀλεγίζω, ἀλεγύνω ('have a care of, be

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[77] Scholia on *Il.* 8.70: τανηλεγέος· μακροκοιμήτου. ἢ μακρὰν ἀφροντισίαν παρέχοντος. Scholia on *Od.* 2.100: τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο· μακροχρονίου, ἐκ τοῦ λέγω τὸ κοιμῶμαι. τοῦ μακρὰν ἀφροντισίαν παρέχοντος. ἢ τοῦ μακροκοιμήτου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ταναὸν τὸ μακρὸν καὶ τοῦ λέγω τὸ κοιμῶμαι. Scholia on *Od.* 11.171: τανηλεγέος· μακροκοιμήτου. τοῦ μεγαλοκοιμήτου θανάτου, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας, παρόσον οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐκέτι ἐγείρονται κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Scholia on *Od.* 11.398: τανηλεγέος· ἤτοι πολυμερίμνου, ἢ τοῦ ταναὰ ἄλγη ποιοῦντος. τοῦ ἔχοντος τεταμένην τὴν ἠλύγην, ἤτοι τὴν νύκτα. *Hesychius* sub τανηλεγέος: παρατεταμένην ἔχοντος τὴν ἀλγηδόνα. μακροκοιμήτου· τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο. Philoxenus Grammaticus, repeated verbatim by *Orion* sub τανηλεγής: παρὰ τὸ λέγω τὸ κοιμῶμαι, καὶ παρὰ τὸ ταναόν, ταναλεγὴς καὶ τανηλεγής, ὁ αἰώνιον κοίμημα καὶ μακροχρόνιον ἔχων. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 16.672: ὁ θάνατος δὲ ὑπνοῦν ἐπὶ μακρὸν ποιεῖ τανηλεγὴς ὤν. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.154: ἢ δυσλεγέος, ὅ ἐστι δυσκοιμήτου, διὰ τὸ τῶν μαχομένων πολύφροντι ἢ τοῦ εἰς κακὸν καὶ ἀνέγερτον ὕπνον κοιμίζοντος, ὃν Ὅμηρος μέν που τανηλεγέα λέγει, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ αἰένυπνον, ὡς ἀδελφὸν μὲν ὕπνου, μακρότατον δέ. *Eustathius* on *Od.* 2.100: ὁ δὲ θάνατος, ἐπὶ μακρὸν παρατείνει τὸ τοιοῦτον λέξασθαι. *Et. Magn.* sub δυσηλεγής: δυσηλεγής, τανηλεγής—ἐπὶ τοῦ θανάτου λέγεται, ὁ μακροκοίμητος· ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγω, τὸ κοιμῶμαι· οἷον, Λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα. Ἢ παρὰ τὸν ἔλεγον, τὸν θρῆνον· ἵν' ᾖ ὁ χαλεποὺς θρήνους περιποιῶν. *Et. Magn.* sub τανηλεγής: Τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο· Παρὰ τὸ λέγω, τὸ κοιμῶμαι, ταναλεγὴς καὶ τανηλεγής· ἢ παρὰ τὸ τῆλε, τηλελεγὴς καὶ τανηλεγὴς, ὁ μακρὸν κοίμημα ἔχων, τουτέστιν αἰώνιον· ἢ ὁ μακρὰν ἀφροντιστίαν παρέχων. *Suda* sub τανηλεγές: σκληρόν. *Zonaras* sub τανηλεγές: ὁ μακρὸν κοίμημα ἔχων, τουτέστιν αἰώνιον. παρὰ τὸ λέγω, τὸ κοιμῶμαι, καὶ τὸ ταναὸν, ταναλεγὴς καὶ τανηλεγής. ἢ παρὰ τὸ τῆλε, ταλαλεγὴς καὶ τανηλεγής.

[78] E.g., *Ebeling* sub τανηλεγής; *Boisacq* sub τανηλεγής; *Cunliffe* sub τανηλεγής; *LSJ* sub τανηλεγής; *Russo, Commentary* on *Od.* 19.145; R.B. Rutherford (1992) 153; and, most extensively, O. Szemerényi (1964) 148–160, who refines the etymology slightly by offering ταvϝ- + ἄλγος. I see little to recommend A.J. van Windekens' proposal (*Van Windekens* sub τανηλεγής) that an earlier *ταληλεγής (ταλα + ἄλγος 'enduring pain') became τανηλεγής via dissimilation. This is not a normal dissimilation in Greek. And, besides, *ταληλεγής 'enduring pain,' like ταλαεργός 'enduring work' and ταλαπενθής 'enduring sorrow,' would be a signally inappropriate epithet of θάνατος, which rather causes others to endure pain.

concerned with, show regard for').[79] This works very well morphologically, but it requires a complete reconsideration of the proposal that the first element of the compound is ταναός, since 'having an extended care' or 'caring for an extended period' does not well describe θάνατος in any Homeric context—quite the contrary!

There are some difficulties with ταναός in any case. Semantically, ταναός and its compounds always have a spacial sense in Homer: 'long' (of a spear, for example, or of legs), 'slender' (of the leaves or bark of a tree), 'sharp' (of the edge of a sword or other kind of blade), 'extended' (of a tongue, or of a bow-string), or 'out-stretched' (of trailing robes, or of wings in flight). They are never used in a temporal sense to denote a long period of time, as required by the often proposed and still widely accepted etymology ταναός + ἄλγος—i.e., death that causes 'extended suffering.' Morphologically this etymology is suspect as well, as the prefix always appears elsewhere in compounds as τανυ- or ταvα-, never simply ταν- (e.g., ταναός + ἀκή = τανυήκης/ταναήκης). In short, the adjective τανηλεγής in the Homeric formula τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο is a semantically difficult and morphologically suspect compound.

However, there exists an adjective very similar to τανηλεγής that warrants consideration in the present examination because it would make good sense semantically in the Homeric formula, because it is very attractive morphologically in view of its several analogous Homeric forms, and because it can be plausibly explained phonetically. I am speaking of the adjective ἀνηλεγής (ἀν-privative + ἀλέγω 'have a care of').

The adjective ἀνηλεγής is not attested in Greek as early as Homer. It first occurs in some variants recorded by Herodian for ἀπηλεγέως (which is Homeric) and ἀπηλεγέοντες in the manuscripts of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* at 1.785 (ἀνηλεγέως) and 2.17 (ἀνηλεγέοντες).[80] The forms in ἀπ- and ἀν- were apparently thought to be synonymous, meaning 'without a care, heedlessly, recklessly.'

An adverbial form appears several times in the late epic poet Quintus Smyrnaeus' *Posthomerica*—1.226 (mss. ἀπηλεγέως), 2.414, 5.168, 7.24,

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[79] E.g., *GEW* sub τανηλεγής and ἀλέγω; *DELG* sub τανηλεγής and ἀλέγω; *LfgE* sub ἀνηλεγής. This, of course, presupposes that ἀλέγω ('to care') is to be differentiated etymologically from ἄλγος ('suffering')—contra, e.g., O. Szemerényi (1964) 148–160.

[80] *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 79; cf. scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 1.785, 2.17.

9.346, 11.252, 13.79—again with the sense 'carelessly, heedlessly, recklessly,' and perhaps 'ceaselessly.'

Most notably for the present examination, Quintus also once uses ἀνηλεγής as an adjective modifying πόλεμος in a verse that is curiously reminiscent of the Homeric usage of τανηλεγής as a modifier of θάνατος:

> εὕρωμεν θυμῆρες ἀνηλεγέος πολέμοιο (*Posthomerica* 2.75)
> μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καθέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (*Od.* 3.238 ~ 8x Homer)

A reconstruction of a pre-Homeric formula based on the evidence of an epic poet as late as Quintus is highly speculative, of course, but it seems pertinent to the examination at hand to note that the two adjectives could very well serve in an epic formulaic system as semantically equivalent but metrically alternative biforms that filled the space between the third-foot trochaic caesura and verse-end. The phonetic and metrical environment preceding the formula—i.e., whether the preceding word ended with a vowel or a consonant—would then have influenced the choice of epithets: ἀνηλεγέος could preserve the short syllable preceding; τανηλεγέος could prevent hiatus. The prosody and euphonics of epic verse, then, could have nurtured the development and maintained the existence of these biforms.

Finally, to be complete, it should be observed that the adjective appears in its neuter form ἀνηλεγές in Hesychius glossed as ἀφρόντιστον ('without a care, without a thought, heedless').

Semantically, then, ἀνηλεγής (ἀν-privative + ἀλέγω) offers a suitable adjective to describe the Homeric concept of death (θάνατος). The hypothetical formula *ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο would mean 'Death which has no care, concern, etc.' It could possibly even include the nuance 'Death which takes no heed, i.e., is impartial, without bias.' In this sense ἀνηλεγής would overlap semantically with another Homeric epithet for death—ὁμοΐϊος 'common to all, i.e., impartial, without bias'—that is attached both to θάνατος, like ἀνηλεγής in our reconstructed Homeric formula, and to πόλεμος, like ἀνηλεγής in Quintus' formula: θάνατον μὲν ὁμοΐϊον (*Od.* 3.236); ὁμοιΐου πολέμοιο (*Il.* 9.440; 13.358, 635; 15.670; 18.242; 21.294; *Od.* 18.264; 24.543). Remarkably, another Homeric epithet—δυσηλεγής—that appears to be morphologically related to ἀνηλεγής (see below), also modifies both θάνατος and πόλεμος in metrical positions identical to those of ὁμοΐϊος: θάνατον γε δυσηλεγέα (*Od.* 22.325); δυσηλεγέος πολέμοιο (*Il.* 20.154). In short, ἀνηλεγής is an adjective that suitably describes the Homeric concept of death and

war, and its meaning appears to fall within the semantic range of at least two other Homeric epithets—δυσηλεγής and ὁμοίϊος—that share the feature of modifying both θάνατος and πόλεμος.

Morphologically, a Homeric epithet ἀνηλεγής is attractive as well. It is readily associated with a family of compounds in -ηλεγής: Homeric δυσηλεγής and ἀπηλεγέως, as well as τανηλεγής; cf. also non-Homeric ἀπηλεγής and νηλεγής. The second element in this family of compounds is reasonably derived from ἀλέγω 'have a care of.' After the prefix ἀν- in particular, an initial ἀ- of the second element of a compound regularly lengthens to ἠ-.[81] Moeover, it is notable that the first element in each member of this family of compounds is a negative prefix: δυσ-, ἀπ-, νη-, ἀν-. All, that is, except the epithet under consideration—τανηλεγής—which is the 'odd man out' morphologically and so again yields ground to ἀνηλεγής. The simple verb forms too—ἀλέγω, ἀλεγίζω, ἀλεγύνω—usually occur in Homer (and elsewhere) in the negative (15/22 times in Homer): 'to have no care of, to be unconcerned with, to show no regard for.' One may also add to the mix the memorable, if odd, name of the Trojan hero Οὐκαλέγων 'Not-Caring' (*Il.* 3.148). In sum, morphologically as well as semantically ἀνηλεγής seems a more likely and suitable candidate than τανηλεγής as an epithet for θάνατος in a traditional Homeric noun-epithet formula.

Is it possible that τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο, even though it is the form that has been unanimously transmitted eight times in our Homeric texts, is a secondary form, i.e., a modification of an earlier ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο? As attractive as is ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο semantically and morphologically, we must still account phonetically for how τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο could have been derived from it?

F. Bechtel and F. Blass came to the same conclusion at around the same time, though independently, that τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο was an adaption of ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο by later editors of the Homeric texts who were unnecessarily concerned about avoiding hiatus at the trochaic caesura of the third foot of the Homeric dactylic hexameter.[82] Indeed, the τ- at the beginning of the formula does serve to prevent hiatus in all eight instances in Homer, but, while this may account for

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[81] Cf. Homeric ἀνήκεστος (ἀν- + ἀκέομαι), ἀνηκουστέω (ἀν- + ἀκούω), ἀνήμελκτος (ἀν- + ἀμέλγω), ἀνήνυστος (ἀν- + ἀνύω), ἀνήνωρ (ἀν- + ἀνήρ), ἀνήροτος (ἀν- + ἀρόω).

[82] See F. Bechtel (1904), who records an oral communication with F. Blass on the topic; also *Bechtel* sub τανηλεγής.

the preservation of the epithet once it had attained this form, it does not seem to be an adequate motivation for the initial morphological change of the epithet. What is more, such an imposition of a meaningless phoneme simply for euphonic purposes seems too arbitrary a development to be plausible here. M. Leumann thereafter offered the proposal that τανηλεγής is one of a rather large family of words that have resulted from a misunderstanding of word division. He hypothesized, though very tentatively, that an original pre-Homeric formula τ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο (i.e., with the formula preceded by the elided particle τε) was misunderstood as τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο.[83] Others have shared the suspicions of Bechtel, Blass, and Leumann that τανηλεγής is a secondary modification of an earlier ἀνηλεγής.[84]

I agree, on account of the semantic and morphological reasons outlined above, that the formula τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο was a modification of an earlier ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο, but I offer the following cautions, followed by an alternative proposal for a phonetic avenue for this development.

First, against Bechtel and Blass, I would propose that if such a development occurred, it must have been complete before the time of Homer, during the truly oral stage of epic transmission. The unanimity of the reading τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο in our texts indicates that it is a genuine Homeric form rather than a post-Homeric editorial revision. Moreover, the usefulness of the initial τ- to obviate hiatus with the preceding word, which is an oral/aural rather than a literary nicety, argues for its appearance during a pre-Homeric performance rather than a post-Homeric textualization.

Second, against Leumann, I would suggest that τ' ἀνηλεγέος > τανηλεγέος does not seem a likely phonetic avenue for the development. Indeed, the particle τε in its elided form τ', which occurs 1097 times in Homer, offers an inviting target, but neither ἀνηλεγής nor τανηλεγής is ever preceded by τε in all of Greek, and it is difficult to imagine a syntactical construction in epic verse that would accommodate the collocation τ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

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[83] M. Leumann (1950) 45.

[84] *GEW* sub τανηλεγής cites Bechtel and Blass' theory favorably, Leumann's less so. *DELG* sub τανηλεγής cites both theories favorably. *S. West, Commentary* on *Od.* 2.100 cites Leumann's theory favorably.

It seems to me more likely that an elision in a verb form played a part in a pre-Homeric junctural metanalysis ἀνηλεγής > τανηλεγής. Such a verbal elision would most likely have occurred in this situation when a middle imperfect/strong aorist indicative form in the third person singular was misanalyzed as an active imperfect/strong aorist indicative form (i.e., -ετ' + vowel > -ε + τ-vowel). For example, a hypothetical pre-Homeric verse *τίς νύ σε κὴρ ἐξείλετ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο may have been misheard as *τίς νύ σε κὴρ ἐξεῖλε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (cf. *Od.* 11.171, 398: τίς νύ σε κὴρ ἐδάμασσε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο). The compound verb ἐξείλετο is regularly used in the middle voice of depriving someone of life (*Il.* 15.460; 17.678; *Od.* 11.201; 22.388), and the simplex εἶλε is regularly used in the active voice in the same sense (*Il.* 5.47, 677; 13.672; 14.520; 16.607). Hence it does not require too great a leap of faith to imagine an audience of a pre-Homeric epic performance—even an experienced audience—mistaking the middle form of the verb in ἐξείλετ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο as an active form ἐξεῖλε, and consequently metanalyzing the collocation as ἐξεῖλε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

This is all *exempli causa*, of course, as many other phonetic avenues for junctural metanalysis could be envisioned. One can imagine an elided form of ἔτι in the common Homeric collocations οὐδ' ἔτ', μηδ' ἔτ', δ' ἔτ', or σ' ἔτ' being misheard and metanalyzed as οὐδὲ τ-, μηδὲ τ-, δὲ τ-, or σε τ-. Hence, a hypothetical *οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο, for example, may have been misheard as *οὐδὲ τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (for the construction cf. *Il.* 15.709). Or one can imagine an elided third-declension neuter plural noun such as πήματ', τέρματ', or σήματ' being misheard and metanalyzed as a singular πῆμα τ-, τέρμα τ-, or σῆμα τ-. Hence, a hypothetical *πήματ' ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο, for example, may have been misheard as *πῆμα τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο (all three Homeric nouns—but especially πῆμα, whose semantic range overlaps with Homeric κήρ—are associated with death in Greek poetry).

Many more hypothetical collocations could be suggested, but the lexical isolation of the epithet τανηλεγής in Homer does not allow us to pin-point a phonetic avenue with any precision or to propose one to the exclusion of others with any degree of confidence. What can be stated with some confidence, however, is that, whatever the phonetic environment that spawned τανηλεγής, the metanalysis must have occurred during the pre-Homeric oral/aural stage of transmission; it was not simply the outcome of scholarly textual analysis.

Finally, it should be acknowledged that one might reasonably question the likelihood of an auditor of an early epic performance mistaking an easy to understand ἀνηλεγέος θανάτοιο as a harder to understand τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο. Beyond the ostensible phonetic temptation to do so, some semantic motivation is possible: a false association of the epithet with ἐτίταινε (of Zeus 'stretching out' his golden scales to determine fate) in the two Iliadic passages (8.69–70, 22.209–210), for example, may have wielded some influence on the metanalysis. And other 'folk etymologies' may have played a part: for example, a perceived association with τανaός and λέχομαι meaning death that 'causes one to lie stretched out' seems possible—although none of the ancients mentions this etymology, and I am not aware of any modern mentioning it either. Since this interpretation maintains the spacial sense of ταναός, it would not be subject to the objections raised above against a temporal interpretation. In fact the verb form τανύω is used in Homer of 'laying someone low, stretching someone out on the ground.' As mentioned above, however, this could not have been the actual etymology of τανηλεγής since an adjectival compound of ταναός and λέχομαι would have produced τανυλεχής.

ἀβληχρός / βληχρός

The adjective ἀβληχρός is used four times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and only rarely thereafter save in hexameter passages imitative of Homer (Apollonius of Rhodes, Nicander, Oppian, Quintus) and, secondarily, in comments of ancient grammarians and lexicographers about its meaning and form in these very Homeric passages (see below).

In Book 5 of the *Iliad* the adjective is used of Aphrodite's hand. Aphrodite has just been described, in contrast to the bellicose Athena and Enyo, as 'defenseless' (ἄναλκις 331), when Diomedes, as though to prove the point, pierces her in her ἀβληχρήν hand with his sharp spear (336–37):

> ἄκρην οὔτασε χεῖρα μετάλμενος ὀξέϊ δουρὶ
> ἀβληχρήν·

She begins to bleed ichor and lets loose a shriek before seeking refuge from the battlefield in the comfort of Olympus. Aphrodite's χεῖρα…ἀβληχρήν is 'weak' or 'tender,' in contrast to the 'stout' or 'heavy' hand of a warrior (χειρὶ παχείῃ 18x in Homer; χεῖρα βαρεῖαν 10x). Back in Olympus Athena taunts the wounded goddess by proposing

that she must have scratched her 'slender hand' (χεῖρα ἀραιήν) with a golden dress-pin.

In Book 8 of the *Iliad* Hector uses the adjective derisively to ridicule the walls that the Achaeans have built to protect their ships, describing them as ἀβλήχρα and οὐδενόσωρα ('of no account'), since they will not repel his attack (177–78):

νήπιοι οἳ ἄρα δὴ τάδε τείχεα μηχανόωντο
ἀβλήχρ' οὐδενόσωρα· τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἀμὸν ἐρύξει·

Hector's regard for the Achaean walls as ἀβλήχρα 'weak' and 'flimsy' and therefore οὐδενόσωρα 'of no account' is in sharp contrast to the great walls of Troy towering behind him, which are praised throughout the epics in suitably heroic terms: 'lofty' (τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο 2x), 'sheer' (αἰπύ τε τεῖχος 3x), 'long' (τείχεα μακρά 2x), 'wide' (τεῖχος... εὐρύ 1x), hence deservedly 'famous' (κλυτὰ τείχεα 1x).

In Book 11 of the *Odyssey* Teiresias prophesies to Odysseus that after suffering many ills at sea he will finally accomplish his return home and that in prosperous old age a very ἀβληχρός death will come upon him, far from the sea, surrounded by his blessed people (134–37):

– ᴗ ᴗ / – – / – θάνατος δέ τοι ἐξ ἁλὸς αὐτῷ
ἀβληχρὸς μάλα τοῖος ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ σε πέφνῃ
γήρᾳ ὕπο λιπαρῷ ἀρημένον· ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ
ὄλβιοι ἔσσονται.

The passage is repeated almost verbatim in Odysseus' recounting of the episode to Penelope (23.281–84). The adjective ἀβληχρός appears to describe here a 'gentle' or 'peaceful' death for Odysseus in contrast to the 'wretched' (στυγερός, λευγαλέος, οἴκτιστος, etc.) deaths that his comrades suffered while fighing in Troy or in the course of their return home. In sum, the contexts of the four Homeric passages in which the adjective ἀβληχρός appears suggest the meanings 'weak,' 'flimsy,' and 'gentle.'

Later epic poets who used the adjective—Apollonius of Rhodes (1x), Nicander (1x), Oppian (10x), and Quintus (1x)—appear to have drawn it from the deep reservoir of the epic *Kunstsprache* rather than from the living lexicon of their own vernacular, and they used it in much the same sense as Homer: 'gentle, fine, soft, weak, feeble, flimsy.'[85]

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[85] Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.205 (of the 'gentle' sleep by which Phineus is overcome ἀβληχρῷ... κώματι; cf. μαλακὸν κῶμα in Homer); Nicander *Theriaca* 885 (of 'fine' or 'thin' grass ποίης ἀβληχρέος); Oppian *Halieutica* 1.100 (of a 'weak' species

Somewhat surprisingly the adjective appears to have enjoyed a bit of a renaissance in later Greek prose and poetry of the 6th to 14th centuries (from Procopius to Joannes Actuarius), but here too it was used in the same sense as Homer: 'slight, feeble, trivial, gentle, frail.'[86]

This was also the meaning attached to the adjective by a large majority of the ancient grammarians and lexicographers: i.e., ἀβληχρός = ἀσθενής 'weak';[87] also ἠρεμαῖος 'gentle,' ἀβίαστος 'without vigor,' ἀμαυρός 'feeble,' ἁπαλός 'tender,' ὀλιγόψυχος 'feeble-hearted,' οὐτιδανός 'worthless,' πρᾶος 'gentle,' γαληνός 'calm,' ἀμβλύς 'dull.'[88] A very small

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of fish called Taeniae Ταινίαι ἀβληχραί), 1.323 (of the 'feeble' limbs of the hermit crab ἀβληχροῖς μελέεσσι), 1.775 (of the 'feeble' fry generally ἀφύαι . . . ἀβληχραί), 2.454 (of the not so 'feeble' bite of a particular reptile or cuttlefish οὐ . . . ἀβληχρὸν . . . δάκος), 2.557 (of the 'soft' flesh of a species of fish called Amiae σάρκες ἀβληχραί), 4.469 (of the 'feeble' fry called Engraules ἀβληχρῆς ἀφύης), *Cynegetica* 2.182 (of the 'weak' heart of a stag ἀβληχρὴ κραδίη), 2.347 (of an aged parent 'feeble' in his or her hands ἀβληχρὸν παλάμας), 2.607 (of the 'weak' race of apes γένος . . . ἀβληχρόν), 3.476 (of the 'feeble' horns of a camel ἀβληχραὶ . . . κεραῖαι); Quintus *Posthomerica* 10.19 (of the not so 'flimsy' walls of Troy τείχεα . . . οὐ γὰρ ἀβληχρὰ. Other than in these epic imitations of Homer, and in the comments of ancient grammarians and lexicographers of Homer, ἀβληχρός occurs in antiquity (i.e., before the 6th c. A.D.) only twice: in a fragment of Epicurus (*Gnomologium Vaticanum* fr. 4: intense pain is short in duration; while pain that lasts a long time is 'mild' ἀβληχρὸν . . . πόνον): and in a scholium to Theocritus (on 7.151/152b: of the Anopos river, which has 'scant' water ἀβληχρὸν . . . ὕδωρ).

[86] Procopius *De Bellis* 2.22.16.3 (of a fever that was so 'slight' that no one suspected that it would lead to death ἀβληχρός . . . πυρετός); Trichas *Libellus de Novem Metris* 364 (in M. Consbruch's edition) (of human purposes, which are weak, defenseless, and 'feeble' νόες . . . ἀβληχροί); Joannes Damascenus *Laudatio Sanctae Martyris Anastasiae* 30.5 (of the 'trivial' worldly possessions of the martyr ἀβληχρόν τὸ οἰκεῖον); Joannes Zonaras *Epitome Historiarum* 537 (in T. Büttner-Wobst's edition) (of a poison that is not quick, bringing a swift death, but is 'gentle,' and works slowly over time φάρμακον . . . ἀβληχρὸν); *Eustathius* on *Il.* 12.269–71 (of Ajax' division of troops into the strongest, the 'weakest,' and those in between οἱ μὲν ἄριστοι, οἱ δὲ ἀβληχροί, οἱ δὲ μέσοι); Ephraem *Historia Chronica* 3225 (of an old, 'frail,' man on the verge of death γηραιὸν ἄνδρα . . . ἀβληχρόν); Joannes Actuarius *De Urinis* 5.7.23, 6.3.1, *De Diagnosi* 1.33, 1.40, 1.56 (all in J.L. Ideler's edition) (in all five passages of 'slight' fevers πυρετοὶ ἀβληχροί).

[87] The A scholia on *Il.* 8.178; scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.205; scholia on Nicander *Theriaca* 885; Apion *Fragmenta de Glossis Homericis* 211 (in A. Ludwich's edition); Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub ἀβληχρήν; *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166; *Herodian Partitiones* 179; scholia on Oppian *Cynegetica* 2.347; scholia on Oppian *Halieutica* 1.100; *Hesychius* sub ἀβληχρήν; Photius *Lexicon* sub ἀβληχρήν; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 5.337, etc.

[88] Ἠρεμαῖος (scholia on *Od.* 11.135); ἀβίαστος (Apion *Fragmenta de Glossis Homericis* 211 [in A. Ludwich's edition]); ἀμαυρός (Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub ἀβληχρήν; *Hesychius* sub ἀβληχρός); ἁπαλός (Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub ἀβληχρήν; *Hesychius* sub ἀβληχρήν); ὀλιγόψυχος (scholia on Oppian *Cynegetica* 2.182); οὐτιδανός (scholia on Oppian *Cynegetica* 3.476); πρᾶος (Claudius Aelianus *De Natura Animalium* 9.11.10); γαληνός (Claudius Aelianus fr. 179.10); ἀμβλύς (*Hesychius* sub ἀβληχρός).

minority of ancient scholars, taking the initial alpha of ἀβληχρός as a negative prefix, understood the adjective to mean just the opposite: ἰσχυρός 'strong.'[89] And a few, influenced by the account of the wounding of one of Aphrodite's hands in Book 5 of the *Iliad*, understood the adjective to mean εὐώνυμος or ἀριστερός 'left.'[90]

Although there remain some disagreements about the etymology of ἀβληχρός (see below), the overwhelming consensus of modern scholars has been that its meaning is equivalent to ἀσθενής 'weak.'[91]

This brings us to the only really remarkable feature of the adjective, the one that results in its being an object of examination here, and the one that offers considerable room for dispute: namely, that there also existed in Greek an only slightly different form of the adjective that appears to have meant exactly the same thing: βληχρός.

Although βληχρός does not occur in Homer, it is well attested continuously from early antiquity to the Byzantine period, both in poetry and prose: it is found in the early lyric poetry of Alcaeus (1x), Pindar (2x), and Bacchylides (2x); it is very common in the early medical treatises of the Hippocratic collection (55x), and in both the prose (Ctesias 1x, Theophrastus 2x, Agatharchides 1x, Diodorus Siculus 3x, Plutarch 4x) and poetry (Apollonius of Rhodes 2x [once in the compound περιβληχρόν], Nicander 1x, Babrius 1x, Manetho 1x, Quintus 1x) of the Hellenistic and Roman periods; it is especially prevalent in the prose of the later medical writers (Dioscorides Pedanius 3x, Galen 12x, etc.); it elicits some comments from the later grammarians and lexicographers (Herodian 1x, Hesychius 3x, etc.); and it even finds its way into early Christian literature (*The Shepherd of Hermas* 2x, Epiphanius 4x, Athanasius 1x, etc.). And everywhere βληχρός means the same thing as ἀβληχρός: from the 'gentle' winds and 'sluggish' rivers of Alcaeus and Pindar,[92] to the 'slight' fevers, 'dull' pains, and 'lingering' maladies of the medical writers.[93]

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89 So reported in T scholia on *Il.* 5.337 and *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166.

90 So reported in T and b scholia on *Il.* 5.337 and *Eustathius* on *Il.* 5.337 (in disagreement).

91 *LSJ* sub ἀβληχρός; *GEW* sub βληχρός; *DELG* sub βληχρός, βλάξ; *LfgE* sub ἀβληχρός, etc.

92 Alcaeus fr. 319 βλήχρων ἀνέμων ἀχείμαντοι πνόαι; Pindar fr. 130 βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί. B. Forssman's suggestion at (1966) 117–118—that Pindar intended the meaning 'strong, vigorous' in his description of the rivers of Hades in fr. 130 (as well as of the quarrel [βληχροῦ…νείκεος] in fr. 245), having misunderstood the α- of ἀβληχρός in Homer as a negative prefix, i.e., 'not strong'—seems as implausible as it is unnecessary.

93 Hippocrates *De Morbis Popularibus* 4.1.38.6, etc.

We find ourselves in the awkward situation, then, of trying to explain why there existed two different forms—ἀβληχρός and βληχρός—that were synonymous in meaning. There is little to dispute about the etymology of the root βληχρ-. Some of the ancients toyed with the idea that it originated onomatopoetically from the sound of sheep's bleating (βληχή),[94] or that it was related to the verb βάλλω 'to throw,'[95] but few today remain unconvinced by the considerable comparative evidence that the root βληχρ- is related to the adjective βλάξ, βλακός 'soft, weak, spiritless, slack, sluggish, lazy, stupid' (noun form βλακεία, verb form βλακεύω). The root can thus be traced back to an earlier *μλάκ- found in μαλακός 'soft, mild, gentle, weak' (noun form μαλακία, verb form μαλάσσω), as well as in ἀμαλός 'soft, weak,' ἀμαλδύνω 'crush, destroy, make soft,' μέλδομαι 'make liquid,' etc. This root in turn can be traced back to PIE **mel-* 'to crush, grind, pulverize, soften, weaken,' found widely in other Indo-European languages: Latin *mollis* 'soft,' Sanskrit *mlatá-* 'soft,' Armenian *melk* 'weak,' etc.[96]

The initial alpha of ἀβληχρός is more puzzling. Faced with two forms of the word, one with and the other without an initial alpha, lexicographers, both ancient and modern, have either put up their hands in aporia and included it among the substantial corpus of irresolvable

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[94] *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166: βληχρὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀσθενὲς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν προβάτων φωνῆς· τὸ γὰρ βληχρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἴρηται; *Et. Gen.*, etc. sub βληχρόν: παρὰ τὴν βληχήν, τὴν τῶν προβάτων φωνὴν οὐδὲν οὖσαν.

[95] *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ τάττεται τὸ βληχρὸν ὡς εἶναι παρὰ τὸ βάλλειν, ὅ ποτε μὲν τὸ καταβάλλειν εἰς γῆν καὶ δύνασθαι ἀναιρεῖν σημαίνει, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ καταβάλλεσθαι εἰς γῆν, ὡς δύνασθαι τὸ ἀσθενὲς δηλοῦν καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τοῦ α ἀναίρεσιν καὶ ἐπίτασιν δηλοῦντος; *Et. Gen.*, etc. sub βληχρόν: εἰρῆσθαι δὲ τὴν λέξιν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀσθενοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ βέβληται· βληχρός, ὁ καταβεβλημένος καὶ πεπτωκώς, ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιόντων· ὁ δὲ ἰσχυρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ βέβληκα, ὁ καταβάλλων; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 1.155: ἐκ τοῦ βάλλειν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἄρτου βλωμός. ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δὲ σύγκειται καὶ τὸ ἀβληχρόν. ὃ δηλοῖ ποτὲ μὲν, τὸν μὴ βαλλόμενον χροῦν. ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸν βαλλόμενον, ὡς πλεονάζοντος τοῦ α; scholia on Oppian *Halieutica* 1.100: ἀβληχραί· ἀσθενεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀβάλλεσθαι ἢ ξηραίνεσθαι τὴν χροιάν. *Goebel* vol. 2, 322–328 and A. Blanc (1999) 329–336, (2002) 172–174, have more recently revived this etymological association of (ἀ)βληχρός with βάλλω (see below for objections to this view).

[96] So P. Buttmann (1860) vol. 2, 262; *Autenrieth* sub ἀβληχρός; *Boisacq* sub βλάξ; *GEW* sub βληχρός; *Pokorny* sub **mel-*; *DELG* sub βληχρός, βλάξ; R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 42, 49; W.F. Wyatt (1972) 20-21; *LfgE* sub ἀβληχρός; *Kirk*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 5.337; *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 11.135. The only detractors I find from among modern lexicographers are A. Goebel and A. Blanc, who resurrect the ancient association with βάλλω (see below), and F. Bechtel (1909) 71, *Bechtel* sub ἀβληχρός, who prefers an association with μαλάχη 'mallow,' on the ground that it is a plant as 'mild' as Odysseus' prophesied death.

Homericisms,[97] or they have retreated to some of the more common solutions, even in the face of grave semantic difficulties: that the initial alpha is a prefix of some sort (negative, intensive, pleonastic, or euphonic), or that it is a 'prothetic' vowel (although this means very different things to different lexicographers).

A possibility that comes immediately to mind, largely because of its ubiquity in Greek, is that the α- of ἀβληχρός is a negative prefix (from PIE syllabic *n̥- 'not,' cf. ἄβλητος, ἄγνωστος, ἀδάμαστος, etc.). Some of the ancients apparently held the curious view that βληχρός meant 'weak' and that ἀβληχρός meant its opposite 'strong.'[98] But this interpretation is not borne out by any of the contexts of the Homeric passages in which ἀβληχρός is used, nor, for that matter, in any of its later attestations. Many more held the opposite view, much more understandable given the essentially negative meaning of ἀβληχρός in Homer, that βληχρός meant 'strong,' and that ἀβληχρός meant its opposite 'weak.'[99] But this interpretation is not borne out by the contexts of the vast majority of passages in which βληχρός is used. An offshoot of this view held that βληχρός was etymologically related to βάλλειν (cf. καταβάλλειν) 'to hit, hurt, defeat' and so meant 'strong'; hence ἀβληχρός meant its opposite 'to fail to hit, wound, defeat, to be ineffective' and so meant 'weak.'[100] This etymology has been taken up by some modern lexicographers, who trace ἀβληχρός back to *(σ)βαλ- or to α-privative plus *$g^{w}lH_{1}$–, i.e., ἀβάλλειν.[101] But the

[97] E.g., *Boisacq* sub βλάξ, F. Bechtel (1909) 71, *Bechtel* sub ἀβληχρός, *GEW* sub βληχρός.

[98] So, apparently, T scholia on *Il.* 5.337, without explanation.

[99] So b scholia on *Il.* 5.337; Heraclides of Miletus, according to A scholia on *Il.* 8.178 (= *Herodian*); scholia on Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.205; Photius *Lexicon* sub ἀβληχρήν; *Suda* sub ἀβληχρήν. On a related matter, B. Forssman (1966) 117–118 suggests that Pindar used βληχρός to mean 'strong' (the 'strong' rivers of Hades in fr. 130; a 'strong' quarrel in fr. 245) because he, or a poet before him, had misinterpreted the α- of Homeric ἀβληχρός as a privative 'not strong.' Forssman's main objective in offering this solution is to attribute to epicism the surprising use of Ionic η in Pindar.

[100] So reported in *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166.

[101] *Goebel* vol. 2, 322–328 traces ἀβληχρός back to *(σ)βαλ- (later βαλ- as in βάλλειν) 'to shake, twirl, swing,' with the initial σ- replaced by the puzzling ἀ- of ἀβληχρός. But not only does this meaning fit few of the contexts of the passages in which either form of the adjective occurs, but the initial β of the stem βαλ- is now well established as having originated in a labio-velar *g^{w}. A. Blanc (1999) 329–336, (2002) 172–174, whose solution is advocated in *CEG* sub ἀβληχρός, tries to resolve the puzzle by proposing an even more unbelievable development that a primary ἀβληχρός meant 'not hitting' (from α-privative plus *$g^{w}lH_{1}$–, i.e., ἀβάλλειν) hence 'weak,' and that βληχρός was derived from it when it suffered aphaeresis of α- sometime between the time of Homer

strength of this etymology pales in comparison to the network of associations with the root *μλάκ- (see above).

Another solution often proposed in antiquity held that the initial alpha was an intensive prefix ('alpha-intensive' or, in the nomenclature of the ancients, 'epitatic alpha'), a usage probably related in origin to alpha-copulative (from PIE **sem-* > ἁ > ἀ). Thus ἀβληχρός meant 'very weak.' Some of the ancients who believed that βληχρός was etymologically related to the passive forms of βάλλειν (cf. καταβάλλειν) 'to be hit, hurt, defeated,' hence 'weak,' regarded ἀβληχρός as its epitatic 'intensive' form meaning 'hard hit, severely wounded or defeated,' hence 'very weak.'[102] I am aware of only one modern advocate of this view.[103]

I raise one general and one specific objection. The ancients readily attached the label 'epitatic' to many alpha prefixes that were not clearly alpha-privative. The most often cited in Homer are: ἄξυλος 'wooded,' ἄβρομος 'noisy,' αὐιάχος 'shouting,' ἀστεμφής 'firm,' and ἀσπερχής 'impetuous.' But the first three are *hapax legomena*, and all five have been plausibly explained in other ways: e.g., as alpha-privatives, alpha-copulatives, or assimilated forms of the prefixes ἀνα- or ἐν. In short, the status of an alpha-intensive in Homer is dubious; if it exists at all, it is extremely rare. More specific to the matter at hand, I am wary of the awkward, almost oxymoronic, effect of an adjective with a negative connotation like βληχρός 'weak, soft, feeble, etc.' being intensified with an epitatic prefix. I do not find any examples of negative adjectives prefixed by an alpha-intensive, either in or outside of Homer. Intensive alpha prefixes, if they indeed exist, are more aptly attached to adjectives with positive connotations: ἀτενής 'very intent,' ἀχανής 'wide open,' ἀπρίξ 'very tightly,' and, if we include lexicographical glosses (mostly from Hesychius), ἄβιος 'very wealthy,' ἄεδνος 'richly dowered,' ἄσκιος 'very shady,' ἄστονος 'much grieving,' ἄχιλος 'rich in grass,' ἀχύνετος 'far-spread,' ἀωρέω 'take much care.' In sum, resorting to epitatic alpha is probably not the best resolution for the etymological puzzle of ἀβληχρός.

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and Alcaeus—but with no change in meaning. Blanc supposes that he is forging new territory here, but, as observed above, he was anticipated in his proposal of a relation to βάλλειν already in antiquity and more recently by Goebel.

[102] T scholia on *Il.* 8.178; *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 166.

[103] So *DGE* sub ἀβληχρός and βληχρός.

Two other explanations that are not in fact explanations at all, but rather simply attempts to describe the phenomenon by labeling it with a technical term, are found in the ancient category of 'pleonastic' prefix (i.e., that the α- of ἀβληχρός is simply superfluous),[104] and the more modern category of 'euphonic' prefix (i.e, that the α- of ἀβληχρός is semantically meaningless and has been attached purely for phonetic reasons).[105] But these are the kinds of solutions that we should resort to only after all others have failed—and even then with great reluctance.

Many modern scholars have categorized the initial alpha of ἀβληχρός as a 'prothetic vowel,' in the same class, for example, as ἀμέλγω 'to milk' (cf. Latin *mulgeo*, Old English *meolcian*), or ἀλείτης 'sinner' (cf. Old High German *leid* 'injustice').[106] But Greek prothetic vowels in the usual sense of the term occur usually, if not exclusively, before resonant consonants, consonant clusters, and semivowels (/l m n r w y st khth/). So those who advocate this solution would have to assume that the prothesis occurred when the stem was still *μλά- and was then retained even after the shift to βλη-. This seems very unlikely: the only possible comparand I can find in all of Greek is ἀβλαδέως (= ἡδέως) found only in Hesychius (βλαδόν· ἀδύνατον; βλαδεῖς· ἀδύνατοι; ἀβλαδέως· ἡδέως); there is no comparative evidence—e.g., an analogue in Armenian or Phrygian—to suggest that the alpha of ἀβληχρός is prothetic; in any case, the outcome of *ἀμλα- would have been ἀμβλη-, not ἀβλη-. In the absence of any other ready explanation for the alpha, philologists have here, as elsewhere, too quickly fallen back on a solution of last resort, which in this case simply describes an outcome rather than offering a real explanation.

A related suggestion is that the alpha of ἀβληχρός is a 'prothetic' vowel only inasmuch as it originated from an earlier laryngeal (*H_2 in this case), i.e., PIE * H_2*mlak-*.[107] But there is no comparative evidence for this, and it seems very unlikely, since there occur in Greek forms both with and without the α-.

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[104] E.g., the A scholia on *Il.* 8.178 (= *Herodian*).

[105] E.g., *LSJ* sub ἀβληχρός; *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 11.135.

[106] *Autenrieth* sub ἀβληχρός; E.R. Wharton (1882) 137; J. Wackernagel (1910) 1; *LSJ* sub ἀ-; W. Winter (1950) 31–32; *DELG* sub βληχρός.

[107] R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 49, 52, 85 poses the possibility of a laryngeal origin, but with much hesitation. A. Broger (1996) 213–214 also reconstructs the Indo-European form with a laryngeal, but then disregards it in positing, contra Leumann, βληχρός rather than ἀβληχρός as the primary form.

In the absence of any satisfactory explanation for the α- of Homeric ἀβληχρός, metanalysis seems to be at least as good a solution as any. M. Leumann was the first to suggest something along these lines. He regarded ἀβληχρός as the primary form and βληχρός as a secondary development, venturing that at some time between the composition of the *Odyssey* and the time of Alcaeus an epic poet used in a passage about the death of Odysseus the expression μάλ' ἀβληχρὸς θάνατος, which was then misunderstood as μάλα βληχρὸς θάνατος. The notion of 'a truly gentle death' can be observed, though in a different word order, in the Nekyia in the verse in which Teiresias prophesies a gentle death for Odysseus (*Od.* 11.135: θάνατος...ἀβληχρὸς μάλα). Leumann fancies a development in the nuance of the adjective from a gentle death, as in the Nekyia passage of the *Odyssey*, to the gentle, other-worldly winds of Alcaeus and the sluggish, underworld rivers of Pindar. The adjective, then, pertains to the afterlife, and especially to the pleasantries of the Elysian Fields.[108]

Even if we leave room for such semantic flights of fancy, it seems apparent that the morphological development was precisely the opposite of what Leumann proposes: namely, that βληχρός was the primary form and ἀβληχρός a secondary development. Βληχρός has a sound Indo-European etymology (**mel-* 'to crush, to weaken,' cf. μαλακός), as indicated by a plethora of cognates in other Indo-European languages (see above); ἀβληχρός has no recognizable Indo-European cognates. Βληχρός has a number of related forms in Greek itself (βλάξ, βλακεία, βλακεύω, etc.); ἀβληχρός has none. Βληχρός can be found as an adjective in positive (βληχρός), comparative (βληχρότερος), and superlative forms (βληχρότατος), as an adverb (βληχρῶς), and in compounds (περιβληχρόν); ἀβληχρός is found only as a positive adjective in antiquity.[109] Βληχρός is well attested continuously from early antiquity to the Byzantine period, both in poetry and prose; ἀβληχρός occurs sparingly throughout antiquity, and almost exclusively in dactylic hexameter verse that is imitative of Homer.

In other words, while βληχρός is a ubiquitous, pliable, living member of the lexicon of the Greek vernacular, ἀβληχρός is almost utterly lexically isolated. It seems doubtful indeed that all the incidences of so

108 M. Leumann (1950) 55, 340.

109 But a third-declension adjectival form ἀβληχρής appears in Nicander *Theriaca* 885, a compound ἀβληχροποιός in Eustathius in the 12th c., and an adverbial form ἀβληχρῶς in Joannes Actuarius in the 14th c.

ubiquitous a word as βληχρός would have originated from a mistaken division of a phrase in a hypothetical lost epic. Leumann has been led astray here by the accident of attestation: i.e., that the earliest Greek literature that happens to have survived (Homer) happens to include only the form ἀβληχρός. Surely it is βληχρός that is the primary form and ἀβληχρός the secondary development.[110]

Also, while Leumann seems to be looking for the source of the misdivision in a hypothetical text that was written some time after Homer (or possibly contemporary with, but still independent of, Homer) but before Alcaeus, it seems obvious that we should be looking further back into the pretextual oral/aural stage of epic composition and transmission to a time well before Homer.

Some time before Homer, then, the adjective βληχρός meaning 'gentle' may have been misheard in some such phrase as Leumann suggests. Perhaps a whole line formula such as *αἴθε μάλα βληχρὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὴ was misheard as *αἴθε μάλ' ἀβληχρὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὴ.

It seems feasible that there once existed a family of formulas that described a 'gentle death' in contrast to the usual 'violent death' of the warrior. We may compare Penelope's wish for a μαλακὸς θάνατος, which, as we have seen, is etymologically related to βληχρός, at *Od.* 18.202:

> αἴθε μοι ὣς μαλακὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὴ.

This is *exempli causa*, of course, and many other possible avenues of metanalysis can be envisioned. For example, a formula χεῖρα βληχρήν 'soft hand,' as in the description of Aphrodite's wounded hand at *Il.* 5.336–37, and in contrast to the usual epithet for warriors' hands χεῖρι παχείῃ etc. 'stout hand,' may have been metanalyzed as χεῖρ' ἀβληχρήν. Likewise such word combinations as: δῶρα βληχρά > δῶρ' ἀβληχρά;

[110] Very few (e.g., *LfgE* sub ἀβληχρός) have been convinced by Leumann's proposed line of development. For further criticism see *DELG* sub βληχρός, who thinks it doubtful that all the later attestations of βληχρός, so common in Hippocrates, etc., derive from an epic misdivision; B. Forssman (1966) 117–118, who thinks the use of βληχρός in prose so generally argues for it rather than ἀβληχρός as the primary form; R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 49, who thinks it improbable that a misdivision of ἀβληχρός > βληχρός in a passage unknown to us would have had so much more influence than the ἀβληχρός of the Odyssean Nekyia; A. Broger (1996) 213–214, who envisions βληχρός rather than ἀβληχρός as the primary form in the (non-extant) Ionic epic from which Alcaeus inherited the adjective.

ἔπεα βληχρά > ἔπε' ἀβληχρά; μετὰ βληχρά > μετ' ἀβληχρά, or any number of other prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, and particles that ended in an elidable alpha (παρά, ἔνθα, ἀλλά, ἄρα, etc.).

Once βληχρός was metanalyzed as ἀβληχρός the new form escaped the phonetic environment that spawned it to appear in Homeric θάνατος…ἀβληχρὸς μάλα (*Od.* 11.13–35 = 23.281–82). It also exercised its freedom to be used in other contexts, meaning 'soft' or 'flimsy': χεῖρα…ἀβληχρήν (*Il.* 5.336–37); τείχεα…ἀβλήχρ' (*Il.* 8.177–78). But it remained lexically isolated in Homer, pigeon-holed into a single metrical space at the beginning of the hexameter verse. And it never fully evolved into a living member of the vernacular lexicon.

Finally, it should be noted that semantics may have played a part, hand in hand with phonetics, in increasing the temptation to metanalyze βληχρός as ἀβληχρός. An adjective meaning 'weak, feeble, etc.' connotes a lack of something (i.e., 'strength'), or a negation of something (i.e., 'ability'), so it seems natural that an 'alpha-privative' prefix might be attached (by analogy with, for example, ἀσθενής 'weak') where it is etymologically unnecessary, even etymologically contradictory. Such etymologically unmotivated (or at least unexplainable) alphas appear prefixed to many adjectives that mean 'weak, feeble, etc.' In Homer alone we find: ἀμαλός 'weak, feeble,' ἀμβλύς 'dull, dim, faint,' ἀμαυρός 'dim, faint,' ἀκιδνός 'weak, feeble,' ἀγανός 'gentle, mild, painless,' ἀφαυρός 'feeble, powerless,' and ἀσκελής 'weary, worn out' (cf. non-Homeric ἀμυδρός 'dim, faint, obscure,' ἀκιδρός 'weak,' and ἀκιρός 'weak'). These are not true alpha-privatives, and as one may surmise from the lengthy treatment above, I do not regard this as a full explanation for the α- of ἀβληχρός. Rather, as we have observed in other cases of metanalysis, the influence of such analogues as these, with their superfluous alphas, both in the poetic language and the vernacular, may have played a part, along with metanalysis, both in creating the form ἀβληχρός and also in enabling it to survive, albeit in a lexically isolated state.

ἀλαπάζω / λαπάζω

Much of what has just been stated about ἀβληχρός/βληχρός applies equally well to the biforms ἀλαπάζω/λαπάζω 'to weaken, destroy, sack' and ἀλαπαδνός/λαπαδνός 'weak, feeble, exhausted.'

The forms with initial α-, i.e., primarily the verbal form ἀλαπάζω (along with a compound ἐξαλαπάζω) and the adjectival form ἀλα-

παδνός, occur only in Homer and in other epic (and less commonly elegiac) poetry: Homer, Hymns, Hesiod, Theognis, Zeno, Panyassis, several Classical and Hellenistic elegiac inscriptions, Callimachus, Oracula Sibyllina, Anthologia Graeca, Orphica Lithica, Dionysius Periegetes, Oppian, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Quintus, Eudocia.[111] On the other hand, the forms without initial α-, i.e., λαπάζω, ἐκλαπάζω, λαπαδνός, etc., which are very common throughout the history of the Greek language, are not to be found at all in Homer or other epic (and elegiac) poetry.[112] In other words, the forms with initial α- are lexically isolated. They thrive only in the formulaic diction of epic (and sometimes elegiac) poetry. And while they have developed into quite flexible and mobile formulaic phrases in Homer,[113] they tend to be concentrated in formulas positioned at the end of the dactylic hexameter verse: οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν (and variants, 3–5x in Homer,[114] and also once each in *H.Herm.*, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, and a dactylic fragment of Zeno); and (ἐξ)αλαπάξαι (and variants, 14x in Homer, and also twice in Hesiod, once in Theognis, and once in Panyassis).

In stark contrast, the forms without initial α- are very common and very widespread, occurring in many more different forms, and intersecting almost every genre and period: Verbal: λαπάσσω—'to destroy (a city), to sack, plunder (cows)' (Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 47, 531; *Agamemnon* 130);[115] λαπάσσω/ττω—'to empty, soften,' esp. the bowels (Hippocrates, medical writers, etc.); λαπάζω—'to empty' (Hesychius); cf. the verbal compounds ἐκλαπάζω 'to cast out, plunder' (Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 456); ὑπολαπάσσω—'to

111 The only non-epic usage I find in all of Greek is the single instance of ἐξαλαπάζω—of 'sacking' a city—in a speech presented with deliberate epic coloring by Xenophon himself in his *Anabasis* 7.1.29. A comparative form of the adjective ἀλαπαδνότερος occurs once in Homer, and a superlative form ἀλαπαδνότατος once in Quintus; and a nominal form ἀλαπαδνοσύνη also occurs once in Quintus. A compound verbal form συνεξαλαπάζω 'to help to sack' occurs once on a 4th c. B.C. elegiac inscription from Delphi (published in *BCH* 21 [1897] 599).

112 But the noun λαπάρη meaning 'flank' is probably a cognate—i.e., the 'soft, weak, vulnerable area between the ribs and hips' (7x *Iliad*; also Apollonius, Nicander, Oracula Sybillina, Anthologia Graeca, Quintus, and Nonnus).

113 The verbal forms (ἐξ)αλαπάζ[ξ]- are very flexible and mobile, occurring in various forms after the spondee of all five hexameter feet; the adjectival forms are quite mobile as well, occurring after the spondee of the first, third, and fifth feet.

114 *Il.* 5.783 is probably a post-Aristarchean interpolation, and at *Il.* 8.463 ἐπιεικτόν rather than ἀλαπαδνόν may be the better reading—along with most manuscripts.

115 But *Agamemnon* 130 μοῖρα λαπάξει could be understood, along with all manuscripts, as μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει, presumably with epic coloring.

empty from below, purge' (Aelian, Photius); ὑπολαπάζω—'to empty utterly' (Photius, *Et. Magn.*). Nominal: λαπάρη/α—'flank, soft spot between the ribs and hips' (7x *Iliad*; also Herodotus, Epicharmus, Xenophon, Hippocrates, etc.); λαπαρότης—'looseness of the bowels' (Hippocrates); λάπαξις—'evacuation of the bowels' (Aristotle, etc.); λάπαγμα and λαπαγμός—'evacuation of the bowels' (Hesychius); λάπαθον (also λάπαθος, λαπάθη)—a type of plant, perhaps having laxative qualities (Epicharmus, Theophrastus, etc.); λάπαθος (also λάπαθον)—'pit for trapping animals,' i.e., a place that is 'hollow' (Democritus, Photius, the *Suda*); λάπαθα—neut. pl. 'feces' (scholia to Homer); καταλαπαξικοίλιον—'laxative' (inscribed on a 4th c. B.C. vase from Ampurias.[116] Adjectival: λαπαδνός—'exhausted, weakened' (only once in all of Greek, in Aeschylus *Eumenides* 562);[117] λαπαρός—'slack, loose, hollow,' esp. of bowels (Hippocrates, Aristotle, medical writers, etc.); λαπακτικός—'laxative' (later medical writers); cf. the adjectival compound ὑπολάπαρος—'loose, flabby' (Hippocrates, medical writers); cf. adverbial λαπαρῶς—'without swelling' (Hippocrates).

So, in spite of the fact that our earliest surviving literature, Homer, bears witness to ἀλαπα- rather than λαπα-, nonetheless ἀλαπα- is the form that is more isolated lexically, and a survey of the biforms throughout Greek literature clearly indicates that the original form of the word was λαπα-.

There is little evidence that this word is of Indo-European origin.[118] However, it appears to be very early Greek, as the Hesychian gloss ἔλαψα· διέφθειρα. Κύπριοι points to the use of the form λαπα- to mean 'destroy' as early as the Mycenaean period.[119] And while it does not appear in this form in Homer, or in epic verse generally, as we have seen it appears in a verbal form λαπάσσω 'to destroy (a city), to sack, plunder (cows)' already in Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes* 47, 531; *Agamemnon* 130 [but *Agamemnon* 130 could read μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει as well as μοῖρα λαπάξει]), as well as in a compound form ἐκλαπάζω

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[116] See E. Fränkel (1954).

[117] But all manuscripts of *Eumenides* 562 read λεπαδνόν rather than λαπαδνόν—which makes no sense.

[118] Since it appears that λαπα-, not ἀλαπα-, is the primary form in Greek, and since the Greek forms have at least a two-syllable root (ἀ)λαπα-, it does not seem (pace *Boisacq* sub ἀλαπάζω) to be related to the PIE root **alp-* 'small, weak,' whence Sanskrit *álpa-* 'small,' Lithuanian *alpstù* 'to be powerless,' Hittite *al-pa-an-da-* 'sick, weak'—so *Pokorny* sub **alp-*.

[119] So C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 74.

'to cast out, plunder' (*Seven against Thebes* 456), and in an adjectival form λαπαδνός 'exhausted, weakened' (*Eumenides* 562 [but mss. read λεπαδνόν]).

This brings us to the central question regarding the biforms: whence the epic α- of ἀλαπάζω, ἀλαπαδνός, etc?

The ancient grammarians and lexicographers are not helpful, as they simply categorized ἀλαπάζω as a form of λαπάζω with 'pleonasm of α-.'[120]

Some modern lexica resort to the category 'euphonic α-.'[121] But this is not a meaningful explanation—if an explanation at all. And in this case the distribution of the biforms argues against it, for why would epic alone among the many genres of Greek literature be concerned with 'euphony'?

Since ἀλαπαδνός has a negative meaning—i.e., 'not-strong'—it may be tempting to consider the possibility of an alpha-privative.[122] This does not work in the usual sense of the term, of course, since ἀλαπάζω is not a nullification of λαπάζω: they are synonyms, not antonyms, and cannot in fact be distinguished semantically from each other. Yet it is conceivable that the alpha is a sort of superfluous privative, a phenomenon that I have acknowledged above with respect to several Homeric adjectives: ἀμαλός 'weak, feeble,' ἀμβλύς 'dull, dim, faint,' ἀμαυρός 'dim, faint,' ἀκιδνός 'weak, feeble,' ἀγανός 'gentle, mild, painless,' ἀφαυρός 'feeble, powerless,' and ἀσκελής 'weary, worn out.'

One could argue for an 'epitatic' alpha that intensifies the sense of the term, negative though it be (i.e., 'utterly strengthless')—though I find no one, either ancient or modern, who has made this suggestion. The status of an epitatic alpha in Homer is dubious, as I have observed above, and those which possibly do occur—ἄξυλος 'wooded,' ἄβρομος 'noisy,' αὐιάχος 'shouting,' ἀστεμφής 'firm,' and ἀσπερχής 'impetuous'—are all attached to adjectives with positive semantic connotations, never to negative ones. This holds true for possibly epitatic alphas outside of Homer as well: ἀτενής 'very intent,' ἀχανής 'wide open,'

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120 E.g., *Et. Gud.* sub ἀλαπάζειν and ἐξαλαπάξαι; *Et. Magn. sub* ἀλαπάζειν; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.129, *Od.* 1.226, 4.176.

121 E.g., *LSJ* sub ἀλαπαδνός.

122 So W.F. Wyatt (1972) 57, who, at a loss because ἀλαπαδνός does not fit his 'rules' for the prothetic vowel (i.e., that a prothetic vowel should not occur, as here, before a resonant followed by a short open syllable), suggests that the inherently negative meaning of the word encourages one to think of a negative prefix rather than a prothetic vowel.

ἀπρίξ 'very tightly,' and, if we include lexicographical glosses (mostly from Hesychius), ἄβιος 'very wealthy,' ἄεδνος 'richly dowered,' ἄσκιος 'very shady,' ἄστονος 'much grieving,' ἄχιλος 'rich in grass,' ἀχύνετος 'far-spread,' ἀωρέω 'take much care.' It would seem very odd, even oxymoronic, to have an epitatic prefix strengthening or intensifying a root like λαπα- that is semantically negative—i.e., that means 'lacking in something.'

The most ready solution for ἀλαπα- is that the alpha is a 'prothetic' vowel (though, as we have seen, this means many different things to different people).[123] Indeed 'prothetic' α, whatever its origin, does occur in Greek before the resonant λ (e.g., ἀλείτης, ἀλείφω, ἀλέξω), though never elsewhere before a resonant followed by a short open syllable as in ἀλαπάζω or ἀλαπαδνός.[124] Since the word occurs both with and without the initial α-, the 'prothesis' is unlikely the result of an Indo-European laryngeal (i.e., if the initial α- were of laryngeal origin, ἀλαπα- should be the only outcome in Greek). There is little indication that we are dealing here with 'prothesis' in the oft-used sense of the term: a spontaneous phonetic development in Greek (and Armenian, and possibly Albanian, Macedonian, Phrygian), since there is no comparative evidence for this. Moreover, the distribution of the biforms in Greek seems to be the key here: ἀλαπα- only, and exclusively, in epic verse, but λαπα- only, and exclusively, elsewhere. It would be strange behavior indeed for a prothetic vowel (in the usual sense of the word) to rear its head exclusively in dactylic hexameter verse. And it seems very unlikely that this is a prothesis of substratal origin. E.J. Furnée includes ἀλαπάζω among his many examples of a prothesis of α- of substratal origin, but there is no evidence for this—merely the fact of the existence of the biforms—and this is not the kind of word that the Greeks normally borrowed from the indigenous population: cf. by way of contrast the numerous prothetic forms to be found in indigenous flora and fauna: ἀσταφίς/σταφίς 'dried grapes,' ἄσταχυς/

[123] So *Bechtel* sub ἀλαπαδνός who compares γάνος/ἀγανός (but the parallel is not close); *GEW* sub ἀλαπάζω—although Frisk expresses uncertainty as to whether the α- has been added prothetically to the root or subtracted secondarily from it; *DELG* sub ἀλαπάζω; *LfgE* sub ἀλαπάζω; R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 39, where he regards it as possibly prothetic, and *GED* sub ἀλαπάζω, where he describes it much more confidently as a prothetic vowel of substratal origin—citing E.J. Furnée (1972) 371.

[124] For the absence of prothetic vowels in this phonetic environment, see W.F. Wyatt (1972) 57.

στάχυς 'ear of corn,' ἀφάκη/φακός 'pea, lentil,' ἀκακαλλίς/κακαλίς 'narcissus,' ἄκορνα/κόρνος 'thistle,' ἀγασυλλίς/γηθυλλίς 'onion,' ἄσκυρον/σκῦρον 'St. John's wort,' ἀσκαλαβώτης/σκαλαβώτης 'lizard,' ἀσπάλαξ, ἀσφάλαξ/σπάλαξ, σφάλαξ 'mole,' ἄβρυττος/βρύττος 'sea-urchin,' ἀναρῖτης/νηρίτης 'sea-snail.'[125]

In sum, none of the usual explanations for a variable initial α-—pleonastic, euphonic, privative, epitatic, prothetic—satisfactorily explains the biforms ἀλαπάζω/λαπάζω, etc. Perhaps junctural metanalyis of epic diction in performance can offer at least part of the solution. After all, since the forms with initial α- occur exclusively in dactylic hexameter verse, we should look there first in our search for their origin. Our first step should be to try 'to elucidate Homer from Homer,' for this may very well be another instance of epic diction begetting epic diction. If so, it would go a long way in explaining the unusual distribution of the biforms throughout Greek literature.

As we have elsewhere observed, orally performed epic diction, with its many elided final vowels, was especially susceptible to mishearing of the final vowel of one word as the initial vowel the next. In the case of the vowel alpha, such a mishearing might occur after any of the ubiquitous elidable particles, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs that have a final alpha—ἄρα, κατά, ἀλλά, αὐτίκα, etc.—or after neuter plural nouns and adjectives. In the case of (ἀ)λαπα- specifically the text of Homer itself suggests a possible avenue for junctural metanalysis. In the Catalogue of Ships there is described an otherwise unremarkable Nireus of Syme who was the most handsome man to come to Troy but was at the same time physically weak and enjoyed the support of but a small contingent (*Il.* 2.675):

> ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἔην, παῦρος δέ οἱ εἵπετο λαός

The adjective ἀλαπαδνός, with initial α-, may have originated from a mishearing—though, of course, not necessarily in this very passage—of the phrase ἀλλὰ λαπαδνὸς as ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς. The ambiguity created by other phrases that sported similar elisions, like παῖδ' ἀλάπαξα (*Il.* 11.750), θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι (*Il.* 9.136, 278), and νέων δ' ἀλάπαζε φάλαγγας (*Il.* 11.503), may have spurred on the metanalysis, until finally the forms with initial α- became the standard epic forms, comfortably

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[125] E.J. Furnée (1972) 370–374.

ensconced in verse-end formulas such as σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν and πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξαι.[126]

Yet, as we have observed elsewhere, other unrelated factors may have facilitated the initial metanalysis of λαπα- as ἀλαπα- or at least have played a role in the eventual canonization of ἀλαπα- as the standard epic form. That is to say, the temptation to metanalyze strictly on phonetic grounds may have been enhanced by other factors such as the admittedly powerful force of analogy: e.g., the analogy of truly prothetic alphas, as in ἀλείτης, ἀλείφω, etc.; the analogy of rhyming words with genuine initial α- that also resided at the end of the dactylic hexameter verse, such as ἀλαλητῷ, ἀλάληται ἀλάλησθαι, etc.; and the analogy of other Homeric adjectives also meaning 'weak, feeble, etc.' that begin with an etymologically unmotivated alpha: ἀμαλός, ἀμβλύς, ἀμαυρός, ἀκιδνός, ἀγανός, ἀφαυρός, and ἀσκελής.

Further, while metrical considerations may not have played a role in the initial metanalysis of λαπα- as ἀλαπα-, once the metanalysis had occurred the various forms of the word became much more suitable for epic verse-making: i.e., the very useful verbal compound ἐξαλαπαζ(ξ)-, usually of 'sacking a city' (12x in Homer, 2x in Hesiod), could fill the common space between the bucolic diaeresis and verse-end, while ἐκλαπαζ(ξ)-, with its cretic, could not even be accommodated in epic verse. Precisely the same holds true for the commonly negated adjectival form οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν 'not weak' (3–5x in Homer; 1x in H.Herm.; 1x in Hesiod; 1x in a fragment of Zeno) in contrast to its alpha-less counterpart οὐ λαπαδνόν.

In sum, junctural metanalysis—with a little help from other factors—is at least as good an explanation of the biforms λαπάζω/ἀλαπάζω, λαπαδνός/ἀλαπαδνός, etc. as any other, and far better than most.

ὄβριμος / βριμός

The adjective ὄβριμος 'strong, mighty, heavy' is used 28 times in Homer, mostly in the *Iliad* (25x), and always there as an epithet in a formula positioned between the bucolic diaeresis and verse-end describing the

[126] C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 75 expresses amenability to such a 'leumannienne' solution to the biforms ἀλαπαδνός/λαπαδνός.

god Ares, the heroes Hector and Achilles, the stout spear of a warrior, and once, in a simile, a torrent of water:

– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / ὄβριμος Ἄρης (6x *Il.*)
– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ (4x *Il.*)
– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / ὄβριμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ (1x *Il.*)
– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / ὄβριμον ἔγχος (13x *Il.*)
– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / ὄβριμον ὕδωρ (1x *Il.*)

The adjective is used only three times in the *Odyssey*, once, in this same verse-end position, to describe the Cyclops' load of wood (ὄβριμον ἄχθος), and twice, in other metrical positions in the verse, to describe the stone door of the Cyclops' cave. In addition there occur two compound forms in Homer: ὀβριμοεργός (2x *Il.*), an adjective describing the audacious heroes Amphitryon and Achilles; and ὀβριμοπάτρη (2x *Il.*, 3x *Od.*), an epithet of Zeus-born Athena.

These and some other post-Homeric formulations of ὄβριμ- (ὀβριμόθυμος, ὀβριμοτόξος, ὀβριμοδερκής, ὀβριμόσπορος, ὀβριμόγυιος, ὀβριμόπαις, Ὀβριμώ, [Ὀβριάρεως])—sometimes recorded in our manuscripts as ὄμβριμ-, apparently with anticipation of the nasal—are generally confined to epic verse, much of which is imitative of Homer: Homeric Hymns, Hesiod, Panyassis, Antimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, the *Batrachomyomachia*, the astronomical hexameters of Alexander of Ephesus, Oppian, Sibylline Oracles, Orphica, Quintus (119x!), and Nonnus. They occur much less frequently in elegiac verse: Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, Theognis, and the *Anthologia Graeca*, as well as on some Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman-era epitaphic inscriptions. They occur even less frequently in lyric verse: Pindar (2x), Bacchylides (3x), Aeschylus (1x), Euripides (1x). And they occur very rarely in iambic verse: Aeschylus (1x), Aristophanes (1x), Lycophron (2x). They do not occur at all in prose, and they were assuredly not a part of the Greek vernacular of any period. In short, the various formulations of ὄβριμ-, though numerous throughout Greek literature, are lexically isolated with respect to genre and prosody.

There can be little doubt but that ὄβριμ- is etymologically related to the rather more productive stem βριμ-.[127] The adjective βριμός

[127] So G. Curtius (1858–1862) 532; *Ebeling* sub ὄβριμος; *Autenrieth* sub ὄβριμος; *Goebel* vol. 1, 283; *Cunliffe* sub βριαρός, ὄβριμος; *Pokorny* sub *$^*g^w er$-*; *LSJ* sub ὄβριμος; *GEW* sub ὄβριμος; *DELG* sub ὄβριμος; *LfgE* sub ὄβριμος; *GED* sub βρί. Notwithstanding such proposals as: E.W. Fay (1897a) 89 that ὄβριμος, with its textual variant ὄμβριμος, is related to ὄμβρος 'rain-cloud' (which might be suitable for the epithet's single occurrence

'strong, mighty' survives in only one literary passage, describing the child of Demeter in the *Carmina Popularia* (*PMG* 16—quoted by the 3rd c. bishop Hippolytus and defined by him as ἰσχυρός), though it also appears as a gloss in Hesychius: βριμός· μέγας, χαλεπός. But there also survive: a noun form βρίμη denoting the 'strength' of Athena from as early as *Hymn* 28;[128] an epithet Βριμώ 'the powerful one' of Hekate, Demeter, and Persephone as early as Lycophron; and a verb form βριμάομαι 'to be angry, menacing' as early as Aristophanes (cf. ἐμβριμάομαι 'to snort in indignation' in Aeschylus). And in the Homeric epics themselves we find the etymologically related adjectives βριαρός 'stout, strong' and βριθύς 'heavy, weighty,' the noun βριθοσύνη 'weight, load,' and the verbs βρίθω 'to be weighed down, to bring one's weight to bear, to prevail' and ἐπιβρίθω 'to weigh heavily upon,' as well as the epithet of Ares βριήπυος 'with powerful voice,' and the name of the hundred-handed giant Βριάρεως. Further, we find in Hesiod the verb form βριάω 'to be strong, to make strong' (which also occurs as a manuscript variant at *Il.* 18.309), the epithet of Ares βρισάρματος 'chariot-pressing,' and even the bare root βρῖ 'strong' (in the elusive fr. 329).

Various forms in βρι- remain common throughout the history of the Greek language, from Homer to the Byzantine period, and they occur both in poetry and in prose. Clearly the widespread βρι- rather than the lexically isolated ὄβρι- was the regular form of the Greek vernacular.

This conclusion is further supported by the near certainty that (ὄ)βρι- is etymologically related to the very common root found in the adjective βαρύς 'heavy, powerful.'[129] Βαρύς is an Indo-European word; cognates in Sanskrit *gurú-*, Gothic *kaurus*, and Latin *gravis* point back

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with ὕδωρ (*Il.* 4.453), and, possibly, in the compound ὀβριμοπάτρη, referring to the paternity [i.e., the thunder-god Zeus] of Athena, but hardly elsewhere); or W. Winter (1950) 28–29 that ὄβριμος is related to a word found in a Hesychian gloss—μόρμορος· φόβος—and so means 'fearsome,' with the ο- then being simply a vocalism before the resonant μ- (but the meaning 'fearsome' does not suit well several of the objects that the epithet modifies, and the evidence for this theory, hinging as it does on a rare word in a Hesychian gloss, pales in comparison to the plethora of instances in which ὄβριμ- = βριμ-).

[128] *Hymn* 28.10: μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὄλυμπος δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης γλαυκώπιδος (ὑπὸ βρίμης is the correct reading—see below—despite the manuscripts' ὑπ' ὀ(μ)βρίμης).

[129] So *Goebel* vol. 1, 283; *Cunliffe* sub βριθύς; *Pokorny* sub *$*g^{w}er$-*; *GEW* sub βρί, *DELG* sub βριαρός and βαρύς. Notwithstanding the unlikely theory that (ὄ)βρι- is of non-Indo-European substratal origin: so R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 54, 72; E.J. Furnée (1972) 375; *GED* sub βρί and ὄβριμος.

to a labio-velar *g^w*ṛrú*-. And the Sanskrit compound *gri-smá-* 'height of the summer' (i.e., summer's 'strongest' period) suggests that the ancestor of βρι- specifically may have already existed as PIE *g^wri-*.[130]

In sum the form βριμός makes good sense historically, etymologically, morphologically, and semantically. It is the original form of the adjective. All of which raises the pertinent question here: whence the o- of ὄβριμος?

The ancient lexicographers and Homeric commentators labeled ὄβριμος a 'pleonastic' form of βριμός.[131] But, as we have often observed, this term was used in antiquity simply to describe a situation in which a shorter and longer form of a word existed side-by-side; it was not used to explain the reasons for the development and survival of the biforms. In the case of ὄβριμος it was simply a technical label for the inexplicable superfluidity of the o-.

The modern label 'prothetic' is often applied just as loosely to the omicron of ὄβριμος.[132] For 'prothetic' in the proper sense of the term—the addition of /o/ (and /a/ or /e/) before resonant consonants, semivowels, and some consonant clusters (/l m n r w y st khth/), as in ὀμείχω 'urinate' or ὀρέγω 'reach out'—obviously does not apply here before βρ-. There is no comparative evidence that the omicron of ὄβριμος originated from an earlier laryngeal (*H_3 in this case), i.e., PIE *H_3g^wri-*, and, in any event, a laryngeal origin would not have resulted in Greek forms both with and without o-. There is also no comparative evidence to suggest that the omicron of ὄβριμος is a later spontaneous Greek prothesis. And it seems very unlikely that it is a prothesis of non-Indo-European origin, for while E.J. Furnée includes ὄβριμος among his examples of a prothesis of o- of substratal origin, there is

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[130] First proposed by J. Wackernagel (1934) 197–198, and endorsed in *GEW* sub βρί and *DELG* sub βριαρός.

[131] *Orion* sub ὄβριμος, *Et. Gud.* sub ὄβριμος, *Et. Magn.* sub ὄβριμος, *Eustathius* on *Od.* 1.101. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.269 explains Ὀβριάρεως thus, and on *Il.* 6.403 he attributes this explanation to Herodian.

[132] Those who simply label the omicron of ὄβριμος 'prothetic' without further explanation include: G. Curtius (1858–1862) 532; *Ebeling* sub ὄβριμος; A. Meillet (1926) 129; *Chantraine, Grammaire* I 183; *DELG* sub ὄβριμος (who calls prothesis 'the most simple solution'). W. Winter (1950) 28–29 attempts an explanation—though an incorrect one (see below)—by regarding the omicron of ὄβριμος as a regular vocalism before an earlier form of the adjective in **mr-*. Others have explained the omicron of ὄβριμος—again, incorrectly in my view (see below)—as a prothesis of non-Indo-European substratal origin: R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 54, 72; E.J. Furnée (1972) 375; *GED* sub βρί and ὄβριμος. In general, the label 'prothetic' as applied to ὄβριμος has proven even more opaque than its application elsewhere.

no evidence for this—merely the fact of the existence of the biforms.[133] An adjective meaning 'strong' is not the sort of word that the Greeks normally borrowed from the indigenous population, in contrast, for example, to the prothetic forms in ο- to be found in indigenous flora and fauna: ὀσταφίς/ἀσταφίς/σταφίς 'dried grapes,' ὀτρύγη/τρύγη '(grain) crop,' ὀκορνός/κόρνοψ 'grasshopper.' Moreover, the distribution of the biforms in Greek—ὄβρι- in epic verse, but βρι- elsewhere—argues against prothesis. For, as observed above in the case of ἀλαπα-, it would be strange behavior indeed for a prothetic vowel, whatever its origin, to rear its head almost exclusively in epic verse. So in the case of ὄβριμος the label 'prothetic' applied by modern scholars is little more informative than the label 'pleonastic' applied by the ancients. Philologists have here, as elsewhere, too quickly fallen back on a solution of last resort, which in this case simply describes an outcome rather than offering a real solution.

Another frequently offered proposal is that the ο- of ὄβριμος is an old adverbial or prepositional prefix meaning 'the same' that has largely disappeared in this form elsewhere in Greek. Proponents of this view point to the ο- of Homeric ὄπατρος 'of the same father,' ὄθριξ 'with like hair (of horses),' οἰέτης 'of the same age (of horses),' as well as the Hesychian glosses ὀγάστωρ· ὁμογάστωρ, ὄζυγες· ὁμόζυγες, ὄθροον· ὁμόφωνον, and ὄξυλον· ἰσόξυλον, and they usually regard ο- as a dialectal (Aeolic) outcome of *$s\mathring{m}$-, which became ἁ- and (by dissimilation of aspirates) ἀ- in most dialects.[134] But the evidence for such a prefix in ο- is slim, resting on three rare words in Homer and a few Hesychian glosses. And even if it did exist, it would have been a signally inappropriate prefix to add to a word meaning 'strong, heavy, etc.' One could argue, of course, that the prefix had completely lost its semantic value, hence leaving no trace of any semantic distinction between the ὄβρι- and βρι- forms in Greek, but this would be a sophistic maneuver, and it would fly in the face of its presumed occurrences elsewhere—e.g., ὄπατρος 'of the same father'—where a strong semantic force has been retained. Some have associated the ο- of ὄβριμος with a different hypothetical prefix (though it is likely the same one) meaning 'close to, towards, with,' as, possibly, in ὀκέλλω 'run a ship aground,' ὀτρύνω 'stir up, urge on,' ὀαρίζω 'have

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[133] E.J. Furnée (1972) 375; so also R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 54, 72, *GED* sub βρί and ὄβριμος.

[134] So F. Schaper (1874) 523–524, *Boisacq* sub ο-, ὄβριμος.

close conversation with.'[135] But this proposal is even more susceptible to these same objections. In any case, neither accounts for why the forms with the prefix survived almost exclusively in epic verse, while the forms without the prefix flourished everywhere else.

In sum, in considering these various explanations for the form ὄβριμος, we must face the question of why a 'pleonasm' or a 'prothetic' vowel or a prefix—all common enough in the evolution of the Greek language—would occur almost exclusively in epic verse, and not at all in prose? This idiosyncratic distribution in fact argues against ὄβριμος being a regular linguistic development of the living language (i.e., vernacular). Perhaps it is best to look for an explanation not in the normal linguistic development of the Greek language as a whole but in the unique phonological and metrical environment of Homeric epic itself. Perhaps we should here, as elsewhere, attempt 'to elucidate Homer from Homer' by looking at the possibility that junctural metanalysis in the epic *Kunstsprache* can account for the biforms ὄβριμος and βριμός.

One might initially be inclined to look to the definite article/demonstrative pronoun as the source of the o- of ὄβριμος, imagining, for example, that an earlier ὁ βριμὸς Ἕκτωρ or ὁ Βριάρεως suffered an agglutination that resulted in Homeric ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ and Hesiodic Ὀβριάρεως, much as has occurred in French *l'andier* > *landier*, Dutch *de affodil* > *daffodil*, or, for that matter, late Greek ὁ ξερίας > ὀξερίας 'cheese,' or ἡ σκιά > ἥσκιά 'shadow.'[136] But given the time period in which such a development would have to have occurred—i.e., well before Homer—it is doubtful that a late linguistic construction of this sort (article—adjective—noun), which is hardly yet seen in the Homeric texts, was the trigger for the metanalysis.[137] Rather, we should focus on constructions with better pre-Homeric credentials to provide an avenue for possible metanalysis of βριμ- as ὄβριμ-.

The extant manuscripts of *Il.* 13.294 offer as a possible avenue for metanalysis the formulaic phrase ἕλευ ὄβριμον ἔγχος (⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×) 'take up your stout spear.' We can reconstruct this as a very early pre-Homeric ἕλεσο βριμὸν ἔγχος, which then became ἕλεο βριμὸν ἔγχος

[135] So K. Brugmann (1897–1916) 2, 2, 817; *Boisacq* sub ὀ-, ὄβριμος; W.M. Austin (1941) 85–88; *Pokorny* sub **ē, ō; LfgE* sub ὄβριμος; M.L. West (1966) 210.

[136] Apparently ὁ ξερίας or ὁ ξηρίας (cf. ξηρὸν γαλα 'a ripe cheese') > ὀξερίας 'a Sicilian cheese.'

[137] But cf. ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς (*Il.* 2.278, 10.363), ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσεὺς (*Il.* 10.231, 498), ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης (*Il.* 10.536), etc.

(with loss of intervocalic /s/), which in turn became what I would argue was the Homeric form ἕλε᾽ ὄβριμον ἔγχος (with junctural metanalysis, perhaps owing, in addition to the obvious phonetic ambiguity, to a desire for the common break at the bucolic diaeresis), which finally became the ἕλευ ὄβριμον ἔγχος of our inherited texts (with a post-Homeric Ionic spelling of the contracted ε + ο).

The reading ἀπετράπετ᾽ ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ (⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×) 'mighty Hector turned away' at *Il.* 10.200 offers another possible avenue for metanalysis: i.e., of an earlier ἀπετράπετο βριμὸς Ἕκτωρ. And, again, the desire to refashion the earlier, metrically rather unusual, epithet-noun formula into the adonic shape found most ubiquitously at verse-end, may have complemented the already existent temptation to metanalyze on simple phonetic grounds.

The phrase ὑπὸ βρίμης (⏑ / – – / –), denoting the 'strength' of Athena in *Hymn* 28.10, offers another possible avenue for metanalysis. The readings of the manuscripts have ὑπ᾽ ὀβρίμης or ὑπ᾽ ὀμβρίμης here, but ὑπὸ βρίμης seems to be a correct conjecture, for no noun form ὀβρίμη exists elsewhere, while the noun form βρίμη recurs in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* 4.1677, and, moreover, the iota of ὄβριμος is always short elsewhere, while the iota of βρίμη is long as in this verse. The main point, though, is that just as the later scribes were puzzled by ὑπὸ βρίμης and misdivided it as ὑπ᾽ ὀβρίμης in their manuscripts, so might the earlier auditors of epic verse have misheard and metanalyzed various combinations of ὑπὸ βρι- as ὑπ᾽ ὀβρι-, or, for that matter, ἀπὸ βρι- as ἀπ᾽ ὀβρι-, and so forth.

Finally it is tempting to imagine a juxtaposition of the old genitive singular -οο plus βριμός being metanalyzed as -ο' ὄβριμος, just as we saw earlier the pre-Homeric formula ἐπιδημίοο κρυόεντος being metanalyzed as ἐπιδημίο' ὀκρυόεντος (written ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος in our extant manuscripts of *Il.* 9.64), and likewise the pre-Homeric formula κακομηχάνοο κρυοέσσης being metanalyzed as κακομηχάνο' ὀκρυοέσσης (written κακομηχάνου ὀκρυοέσσης in our extant manuscripts of *Il.* 6.344). And though this juxtaposition of the old genitive singular -οο plus βριμός does not actually appear in our surviving texts of Homer, perhaps we may take a cue from the later epic poet Quintus, who offers in his *Posthomerica* Τηλέφου ὄβριμον υἷα (– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑) (7.141) and Μαινάλου ὄβριμον υἷα (11.37), which we could refashion into earlier unmetanalyzed forms as Τηλέφοο βριμὸν υἷα and Μαινάλοο βριμὸν υἷα.

But while the initial metanalysis of βριμ- as ὄβριμ- may be imagined to have occurred simply for phonetic reasons in the oral/aural transmission of epic during the pre-Homeric period, one may reasonably wonder why a metanalysis that resulted in such an etymologically curious form would not have been quickly corrected back to βριμ-. Why did the metanalyzed form ὄβριμ- have such staying power at the expense of βριμ-? We have already touched upon this briefly, but let us consider in greater depth the metrical motivation for the reshaping of– ⏑, or ⏑ ⏑, as– ⏑ ⏑. Βριμός with its naturally long iota (– ⏑), as in βριθύς, βρίθω, βριθοσύνη, βρῖ, βρίμη, Βριμώ, βρισάρματος, and βριμάομαι, was not a viable shape for an adjective in a formulaic system of the sort that developed at the end of the dactylic hexameter verse—e.g., βριμὸς Ἕκτωρ (– ⏑ – ×)—for it resulted in an unmetrical cretic (– ⏑ –). Βριμός with a shortened iota (⏑ ⏑), as in βριαρός, βριήπυος, βριάω, and Βριάρεως, was not a very useful shape either, as it resulted in the unusual combination ⏑ ⏑ / – × at verse end (cf. the rare shape of μέλαν ὕδωρ, μέγα λαῖτμα, ταχὺν ἰόν, etc. at verse end). But ὄβριμος, with shortened iota (– ⏑ ⏑), perhaps on the analogy of ἄλκιμος (which, like ὄβριμος, is a regular modifier of ἔγχος), was imminently suitable for filling the space between bucolic diaeresis and verse end (– ⏑ ⏑ / – ×), the shape we find so commonly in epic verse: ὄβριμον ἔγχος, ὄβριμος Ἄρης, ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ. In fact an entire formulaic family, characterized by qualities of economy and scope that would make Milman Parry beam with pride, included ὄβριμος as a useful and productive member: ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ after a consonant, but φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ after a vowel; ὄβριμος Ἄρης after a consonant, but χάλκεος Ἄρης after a vowel; ὄβριμον ἔγχος after a consonant, but μείλινον ἔγχος or χάλκεον ἔγχος after a vowel.[138] In short, there existed strong metrical motivation, in addition to the obvious phonetic motivation, both for the initial metanalysis of βριμ- as ὄβριμ- and thereafter for the retention of the latter at the expense of the former.

ἄϝολκα / ὦλκα

The lexically isolated word ὦλξ, ὦλκος appears but twice in Homer, both times in the accusative singular ὦλκα. At *Il.* 13.707 the poet

[138] Ὄβριμος was sometimes used as well to shorten a preceding diphthong (*Il.* 5.845, 8.473, 11.347, 13.294, 15.112).

describes in a simile the Aiantes fighting side by side like a pair of yoked oxen 'hastening along a furrow':

> Αἴας δ᾽ οὐκέτι πάμπαν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱὸς
> ἵστατ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Αἴαντος Τελαμωνίου οὐδ᾽ ἠβαιόν,
> ἀλλ᾽ ὥς τ᾽ ἐν νειῷ βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον
> ἶσον θυμὸν ἔχοντε τιταίνετον· ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρά σφι
> πρυμνοῖσιν κεράεσσι πολὺς ἀνακηκίει ἱδρώς·
> τὼ μέν τε ζυγὸν οἶον ἐΰξοον ἀμφὶς ἐέργει
> ἱεμένω κατὰ ὦλκα· τέμει δέ τε τέλσον ἀρούρης·
> ὣς τὼ παρβεβαῶτε μάλ᾽ ἕστασαν ἀλλήλοιιν.

At *Od.* 18.375 Odysseus boasts that he can outdo Eurymachus at plowing 'a straight furrow':

> εἰ δ᾽ αὖ καὶ βόες εἶεν ἐλαυνέμεν, οἵ περ ἄριστοι,
> αἴθωνες μεγάλοι, ἄμφω κεκορηότε ποίης,
> ἥλικες ἰσοφόροι, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,
> τετράγυον δ᾽ εἴη, εἴκοι δ᾽ ὑπὸ βῶλος ἀρότρῳ·
> τῶ κέ μ᾽ ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.

Thereafter the word occurs in Greek only in epic verse imitative of Homer, and there too, as in Homer, only in the accusative case: Callimachus *Diana* 180 (the Stymphaean kine are the best at 'cutting a deep furrow'):

> – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / αἳ μέγ᾽ ἄρισται
> τέμνειν ὦλκα βαθεῖαν·

Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 3.1054, 1333 (Jason sows the dragon's teeth 'along the furrows'):

> οἱ δ᾽ ἤδη κατὰ ὦλκας ἀνασταχύωσι γίγαντες
> δεινὸν δ᾽ ἐσμαράγευν ἄμυδις κατὰ ὦλκας ἀρότρῳ

Moschus *Europa* 81 (Zeus is disguised as a bull of an extraordinary kind that does not 'cut through the furrow'):

> – – / – – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / οὐδὲ μὲν οἶος
> ὦλκα διατμήγει σύρων εὐκαμπὲς ἄροτρον

The word ὦλξ, ὦλκος has since antiquity reasonably been equated with αὖλαξ, αὔλακος (also ἄλοξ, ἄλοκος; cf. verbal αὐλακίζω/ἀλοκίζω), meaning 'furrow.'[139] The forms αὖλαξ and ἄλοξ are common through-

[139] The b scholia on *Il.* 13.707: ὦλκα λέγει τὴν αὔλακα; D scholia on *Il.* 13.707: ὦλκα:

out Greek literary history both in prose (Herodotus, Theophrastus, Septuagint, Dionysius of Halicarnassis, Philo, Strabo, Plutarch, etc.) and in poetry (Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Lycophron, Callimachus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Moschus, etc.), occurring in many and various forms—nominal, verbal, adjectival—including compounds (αὐλακεργάτης, αὐλακοτομέω, πολυαῦλαξ, etc.).[140]

Morphologically the slight differences in the three forms αὖλαξ, ἄλοξ, and ὦλξ can be attributed to the various possible vocalic outcomes of syllabic /l/ in a hypothetical earlier (Aeolic?) form *ἄϝλκ-:[141] αὖλαξ to *ἄϝλακ- (with diphthongization of ἀϝ- and reduced grade of syllabic /l/);[142] ἄλοξ to *ἄϝλοκ- (with loss of digamma);[143] and ὦλξ to *ἄϝολκ- (with loss of digamma followed by secondary contraction of α + ο).[144] The earlier form *ἄϝλκ-, with syllabic /l/, points back to PIE **H_2wl̥k-*, with initial laryngeal, or to PIE **wl̥k-*, with later idiosyncratic prothesis in Greek.[145] Cognates in other Indo-European languages

τὴν αὔλακα; scholia on *Od.* 18.375: ὦλκα: παρὰ τὸ ἕλκεσθαι τὴν ἐπιμήκη αὔλακα; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub ὦλκα: ὦλκα αὔλακα; *Herodian* Περὶ Κλίσεως Ὀνομάτων 758: ὦλξ δέ ἐστιν ἡ αὖλαξ; *Hesychius* sub ὦλκα: ὦλκα αὔλακα; *Suda* sub ὦλκα: τὴν αὔλακα; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 13.707: Τὸ δὲ ὦλκα ἐκ τοῦ ἄλοκα γίνεται κατὰ μετάθεσιν, εἶτα καὶ κρᾶσιν τοῦ α καὶ ο εἰς ω μέγα. εὐθεῖα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαθὴς ἡ ἄλοξ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλέγειν, ὅ ἐστι φροντίζειν, γινομένη. φροντὶς γὰρ γῆς καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς γεωπείναις. Δῆλον δ' ὡς ἡ ἄλοξ μεταθετικῶς κραθεῖσα εἰς τὸ ὦλξ περισπᾶται ἀναγκαίως διὰ τὴν τῆς ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας εἰς περίκλασμα σύνοδον. χρῆσις δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ (the association with ἀλέγειν is faulty); *Eustathius* on *Od.* 18.375: Ὦλξ δὲ ἡ αὖλαξ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλέγω, τὸ λόγον ποιοῦμαι καὶ φροντίζω, ἀλέξω, ἄλοξ, καὶ μεταθέσει ἄολξ, καὶ ἐν συναιρέσει ὦλξ, ἡ ἐν λόγῳ δηλαδὴ οὖσα. Διηνεκὴς δὲ ὦλξ ἡ διόλου ἐνηνεγμένη μία καὶ κοιλανθεῖσα μιᾷ μακρᾷ τομῇ (again, the association with ἀλέγειν is faulty).

[140] A Laconian form εὖλαξ with different vocalization occurs in a Delphic oracle recorded in Thucydides 5.16.2: ἀργυρέᾳ εὐλάκᾳ εὐλαξεῖν; a Doric form ὦλαξ is recorded in the *Et. Magn.* sub ὁμώλακες: ὤλακα γὰρ τὴν αὔλακα Δωρικῶς, and this form can also be seen in the compound ὁμώλακες (Callimachus fr. 238.9, Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 2.396, 787, Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 3.108, etc.).

[141] Given the apparent context of the tablet, there is but a slight chance that Linear B *a-wa-ra-ka-na* (PY Un 1314.1 and .3B) is an early attestation of this word; see *Diccionario Micénico* sub *a-wa-ra-ka-na*, J. Chadwick (1973) 505.

[142] Diphthongization of ἀϝ- as αὐ- is common in Greek generally—αὐδή, αὔρη, αὐίαχος, etc.—and especially in Aeolic.

[143] Or possibly to *ἄϝολκ- (with loss of digamma and metathesis of ο and λ); so F. Solmsen (1901) 259–260, *DELG* sub αὖλαξ, *GEW* sub ἄλοξ.

[144] So F. Solmsen (1901) 259–260, *GEW* sub ἄλοξ.

[145] R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 40 makes a case for a non-Indo-European substratal origin with prothesis, but then he rejects it in the same volume (275–277) in favor of an Indo-European origin with laryngeal, only to turn back later to the substratal theory ([2007] 6; *GED* sub ἄλοξ).

include Lithuanian *velkù*, Old Church Slavic *vlěkǫ*, and Avestan *varnk* 'to drag.'[146]

Indeed Homeric ὦλξ, ὦλκος is the predictable outcome of earlier *ἄϝολκ- with loss of digamma followed by secondary contraction of α + ο. This explanation was best articulated by F. Solmsen, who observed that the hiatus in Homeric κατὰ ὦλκα and εἰ ὦλκα indicate the earlier existence of a digamma in the word, i.e., κατὰ ϝῶλκα and εἰ ϝῶλκα.[147] But since this hypothetical ϝῶλκα was impossible, since it would have been shortened to ϝόλκα before a liquid plus consonant,[148] Solmsen reconstructed the early phrases κατ' ἄϝολκα and εἰ ἄϝολκα (with short εἰ, as sometimes with καί in Homer). He proposed that the form ἄϝολκα would have lost its digamma and been contracted in the vernacular to ὦλκα, which was then reintroduced into epic in the formula κατ' ὦλκα and εἰ ὦλκα (with short εἰ). But since these formulas were now unmetrical, they were changed to the forms we find in Homer κατὰ ὦλκα, εἰ ὦλκα (with long εἰ), despite the hiatus.

Subsequent advances in comparative linguistics have shown Solmsen's proposal to be largely correct. Yet, some details of his proposed scenario seem highly unlikely. The process as a whole seems too contrived: i.e., that a word would be lifted from an epic formula, modified by loss of digamma and contraction in the vernacular, and then reintroduced to that very epic formula, along with the modifications necessary to obviate the consequential metrical anomalies. More important to the matter at hand, it is hard to believe that a contraction of ἄϝολκα to ὦλκα took place in the vernacular without leaving any trace there. The forms in ὦλκα are utterly isolated lexically: they occur only in Homer and his Alexandrian imitators, and there only in the accusative case.

Perhaps Porphyry's dictum that we try 'to elucidate Homer from Homer' should again be invoked. That is to say, perhaps it is metanalysis within the confines of epic diction itself rather than contraction in

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[146] So *Pokorny* sub **welk-* and **selk-*, *DELG* sub αὖλαξ, *GEW* sub ἄλοξ, all of whom would like to relate PIE **welk-* to **selk-*, perhaps via **swelk-*, and thereby be able to associate αὖλαξ with ἕλκειν 'to drag' (from PIE **selk-*). This is an attractive proposition (already observed in antiquity by Philoxenus frr. 15 and 634)—even though there is no trace of a digamma in ἕλκειν—since ἕλκειν's nominal offspring ὁλκός 'furrow' is a perfect match with Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow.'

[147] F. Solmsen (1901) 258–261, followed by *Bechtel* sub ὦλξ and H. Frisk in *GEW* sub ἄλοξ.

[148] In prehistoric Greek a long vowel before a liquid/nasal and consonant was shortened—a corollary of Osthoff's Law; see A.L. Sihler (1995) 74.

the wider vernacular that is the solution to the puzzle. If ὦλκα can be explained as an idiosyncrasy of the epic *Kunstsprache*, its lexical isolation in the Greek language would be more understandable.

Indeed the Homeric text itself supplies an obvious opportunity for metanalysis in the Iliadic formula κατὰ ὦλκα (13.707). An early Aeolic formula *κατ' ἄϝλκα (with syllabic /l/) took on an Ionic vocalization *κατ' ἄϝολκα during the pre-Homeric phase of oral transmission. The formula was then misheard and metanalyzed as κατὰ ϝόλκα. This form, in turn, was modified by loss of digamma and lengthening of ο to ω in the formula we find in the *Iliad*: κατὰ ὦλκα. In spite of the word's checkered history, this is the form that should be recorded in our modern Iliadic editions, as all ancient manuscripts attest.[149] That the word eventually escaped the formula that spawned it to take on a life of its own in the epic *Kunstsprache* is proved by its only other occurrence in Homer, in the Odyssean phrase εἰ ὦλκα (18.375).

*ἄσσα / *(σ)σά*

The neuter nom./acc. plural form of the indefinite pronoun ἄσσα (= τινά) occurs but once in Homer, in the phrase ὁπποῖ' ἄσσα, whereby Penelope presses her disguised husband to prove the truthfulness of his story by describing 'whatever sort of' clothes Odysseus had been wearing while delayed in Crete during his journey to Troy (*Od.* 19.218):

> εἰπέ μοι, ὁπποῖ' ἄσσα περὶ χροῒ εἵματα ἕστο

The form ἄσσα was normal in Ionic generally, as in the similar Hippocratic phrase ὁκοῖα ἄσσα, with the parallel form in Attic being the well-attested ἄττα (Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plato, etc.). Both forms arise from metanalysis of formulaic word combinations, such as Homeric ὁπποῖ' ἄσσα, which by virtue of their phonetic ambiguity at word boundary provide a clue to the forms' etymological origin.

The Indo-European interrogative/indefinite pronoun **k*^{w}*e-/k*^{w}*i-* 'who, what/anyone, anything' is richly attested in the daughter languages: Sanskrit *kás, ká, kát*; Hittite *kuis, kuit*; Greek τίς, τί; Latin *quis, quid*;

[149] Not κατ' ἄϝολκα, as R. Payne-Knight's 1820 edition reads at *Il.* 13.707, or κατ' ἄωλκα, as R. Janko wishes to record (*Janko, Commentary* on *Il.* 13.707). These were pre-Homeric forms.

Gothic *hwas, hwo, hwa*.[150] The Indo-European neuter nom./acc. plural form *$*k^wiH_2$* shows itself in the obsolete Latin *quia* and in Greek τίνα/τινά. But between the time of PIE *$*k^wiH_2$* and Greek τίνα/τινά there occurred a number of permutations that help explain the less common alternate forms of the Greek indefinite pronoun ἅσσα and ἅττα.

PIE *$*k^wiH_2$* became Proto-Greek *$*k^wya$* (cf. PIE *$*triH_2$* 'three' > P.G. **trya* > τρία). Then, on the one hand, *$*k^wya$* became τινά, with a normal development k^w > τ- before a front vowel (cf. PIE *$*\text{-}k^we$* > τε), but with an abnormal borrowing of the nu of the masculine/feminine accusative singular (PIE *$*k^wim$* > P.G. *τίν). On the other hand, through a more regular development, *$*k^wya$* became (ἅ)σσα in most dialects and (ἅ)ττα in Attic (cf. PIE *$*pek^wyo$* 'to cook' > πέσσω/πέττω), the very peculiar initial α- resulting from a metanalysis in such common expressions as ὁπποῖα (σ)σα > ὁπποῖ' ἅσσα 'whatever sort of' and πόσα (τ)τα > πόσ' ἅττα 'however many.'[151]

The forms (σ)σα/(τ)τα survive only on the periphery of Greek: in Megarian σά = τίνα 'why' in Aristophanes *Acharnians* 757, 784;[152] in Boeotian τά = τίνα 'why' in Pindar *Olympian* 1.82;[153] and in an old form of the indefinite relative pronoun ἅ-σσα/ἅ-ττα = ἅτινα.[154] We find no such forms as (σ)σα/(τ)τα in Homer. Metanalyses of the sort observed in ὁπποῖ' ἅσσα (*Od.* 19.218), then, must be pre-Homeric and oral. While we can observe these metanalyzed forms in ἅσσα only very rarely in early Ionic (e.g., Homer 1x, Hippocrates 1x), the metanalyzed forms in ἅττα become increasingly common in later Attic Greek, occurring hundreds of times in Old Comedy, the Attic orators, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle.

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[150] For a fuller picture, see *Pokorny* sub *$*k^wo\text{-}, k^we\text{-}, k^w\bar{a}, k^wei\text{-}$*; *GEW* sub τίς; *DELG* sub τίς; R.S.P. Beekes (1995) 203–207.

[151] In favor of 'false division' (i.e., metanalysis) as an explanation for the form, both in Homer and in the vernacular, see H.L. Ahrens (1852) 41; J. Wackernagel (1887) 121–124; *Boisacq* sub ἅσσα; *LSJ* sub ἅσσα; M. Leumann (1950) 48–49; *Schwyzer* I 319, 413, 616; *Chantraine, Grammaire* I 280; *Pokorny* sub *$*k^wo\text{-}, k^we\text{-}, k^w\bar{a}, k^wei\text{-}$*; *GEW* sub τίς; *DELG* sub τίς; M. Lejeune (1972) 268–269; A.L. Sihler (1995) 399.

[152] *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 532 recognizes the etymological connection: δασύνεται δὲ ὅτε δηλοῖ τὸ ἅτινα καὶ ἔστι δύο μέρη λόγου, τὸ α ἄρθρον καὶ τὸ σα, ὅ ἐστι Μεγαρικόν, δηλοῦν τὸ τινά; cf. scholia on *Il.* 1.554 and *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.554.

[153] *Et. Gen.* (also *Et. Magn.* and *Et. Sym.*) sub ἅττα classifies the form as a Doricism: Γέγονε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ΤΑ Δωρικοῦ, τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ τινά.

[154] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.554 records the etymological connection: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἅσσα, ὃ δηλοῖ τὸ ἅτινα, ἐκ τοῦ ἅ γίνεται, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄρθρον οὐδέτερον ὑποτακτικὸν πληθυντικόν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σα, ὃ δηλοῖ τό τινά Μεγαρικῶς καὶ Δωρικῶς.

The frequency and patterns of usage of ἅσσα/ἅττα during this period are both interesting and pertinent to our explanation of these forms as metanalyses, for the forms remain for a long time lexically isolated, surviving only in the amber of the formulaic expressions that created them—as metanalyzed forms often tend to do. That is to say, the forms remain somewhat fossilized, appearing exclusively in the neuter nom./acc. plural, and they are, moreover, almost always preceded by a word ending in an elided or elidable vowel—usually -α. The latter is particularly true in the earlier and more poetic literature—in Homer, Hippocrates, Old Comedy (i.e., Chionides, Cratinus, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Aristophanes), Thucydides, and Xenophon—where ἅσσα/ἅττα are always, without exception, preceded by a word ending in an elided or elidable vowel: ὁπποῖ' ἅσσα; ὁκοῖα ἅσσα; πηνίκ' ἅττα; οἷ' ἅττα; μίκρ' ἅττ'; πόσ' ἅττα; δείν' ἅττα, ἵν' ἅτθ'; ὀλίγ' ἅτθ', etc.[155] By the time of Plato, however, while this pattern continues to be maintained in about 85% of instances—ὁποῖ' ἅττ', τοιαῦτ' ἅττ', πόλλ' ἅττ', ἄλλ' ἅττα, τέτταρ' ἅττα, ἕτερ' ἅττα, σμίκρ' ἅττα, etc.—in the remaining 15% of instances the pronoun is preceded by consonants or non-elidable vowels: e.g., Μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὑμῖν ἐρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐφ' οἷς ἴσως βοήσεσθε· (*Apology* 30c5); Λάβωμεν ἅττα τῶν νυνδὴ λόγων. (*Philebus* 23c7); Λέγε δή μοι· μανθάνεις που παρὰ Θεοδώρου γεωμετρίας ἅττα; (*Theaetetus* 145c8). This figure roughly doubles to 30% by the time of Aristotle. The forms ἅσσα/ἅττα have demonstrably broken away from the formulaic word combinations that spawned them and have taken on a much more self-sufficient life of their own. These patterns provide strong confirmation that ἅσσα/ἅττα owe their peculiar shape to early metanalyses of formulaic expressions, as in Homeric ὁπποῖα (σ)σα > ὁπποῖ' ἅσσα.

Clearly this metanalysis was not unique to pre-Homeric oral epic verse. We cannot even claim that it began there and thereafter made its way into the vernacular. Rather, the metanalysis most likely occurred concurrently in pre-Homeric oral epic and in the vernacular. The use

155 *Od.* 19.218 ὁπποῖ' ἅσσα; Hippocrates *De Morbis Popularibus* 2.3.2 ὁκοῖα ἅσσα; Thucydides 1.113.1 ἄλλ' ἅττα, 2.100.3 ἄλλα ἅττα; Chionides fr. 8 πηνίκ' ἅττα; Cratinus fr. 6 οἷ' ἅττα; Eupolis fr. 9 μίκρ' ἅττ'; Eupolis fr. 97.20 πόσ' ἅττα; Pherecrates fr. 151 ἄλλ' ἅττα πεντήκοντα; Aristophanes *Peace* 704 πόσ' ἅττ'; *Birds* 1514 πηνίκ' ἅττ'; *Frogs* 173 πόσ' ἅττα, 925 δείν' ἅττα, 936 ποῖ' ἅττ'; *Clouds* 630 σκαλαθυρμάτι' ἅττα; *Thesmophoriazusae* 423 Λακωνίκ' ἅττα; *Knights* 668 ἵν' ἅτθ'; *Wasps* 55 ὀλίγ' ἅτθ'; fr. 601 πηνίκ' ἅττα; fr. 602 ὁπηνίκ' ἅτθ'; Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 2.2.13.6 οἰκτρὰ ἅττα, 3.3.8.2 ποῖ' ἅττα; *Hipparchicus* 8.8.1 ἄλλ' ἅττα.

of the metanalyzed forms in the one may have wielded some influence on their use in the other, but the relationship was symbiotic, and not a simple matter of cause and effect.

Some Limits of the Methodology with Respect to Elision
ἐΐσος / ἶσος

Our texts of the Homeric epics present us with many other words that have biforms in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or elsewhere in the Greek language. While it is tempting to include some of these biforms among our examples of junctural metanalysis, we should not be overindulgent in our application of this methodology, but rather very careful, and ever aware that other linguistic developments in the history of the Greek language have resulted in outcomes similar to the outcomes of metanalysis observed elsewhere in this work. I offer as a primary illustration ἐῖσος/ἶσος, and, by extension, several other analogous biforms: (ἔ)εδνα, (ἐ)είκοσι, (ἐ)έρση, (ἐ)έλδομαι, (ἐ)έλπομαι, (ἐ)έργω, and (ἐ)εισάμενος.

Two distinct forms of this word, meaning 'equal, fair, or balanced,' occur in epic diction: ἶσος (73x in Homer), whose initial ϝ is often observed prosodically, points back to ϝίσϝος, which is attested in the historic dialects (Arcadian, Cretan, Boeotian) and very likely in Mycenaean *wi-so-wo-* (PY Sh 740); ἐῖσος (53x in Homer) points back to *ἐϝίσϝος, which can perhaps be seen in Mycenaean *e-wi-su-* (Kn Se 965, etc.).

The ancient commentators are not helpful: they simply label the ε- of ἐΐσ- a 'pleonasm' of ἶσ-,[156] or they naively take ἐΐσ- as an adjectival form of ἰέναι 'to go' (since a νηῦς ἐΐση is a ship that 'goes,' and a δαὶς ἐΐση is a feast that 'goes around'),[157] or, possibly, of ἐύς 'good' (since a δαὶς ἐΐση is a 'good' meal).[158]

The ε- of ἐῖσος has plausibly been explained by modern commentators as the result of a resegmentation of the common formulaic phrase ἀσπίδα πάντοσε ϝίσϝην > ἀσπίδα πάντοσε ἴσην > ἀσπίδα πάντοσ'

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[156] So scholia on *Il.* 3.197, *Od.* 5.175; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.306, 602; *Zonaras* sub ἐΐσας.

[157] So scholia on *Il.* 1.306, 5.62; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.306, 602, 21.76, *Od.* 3.10; *Zonaras* sub ἐΐσας.

[158] So Zenodotus, who, according to Athenaeus *Deipnosophist* 1.21, understood ἐΐση (with δαίς) as ἀγαθή. Cf. *Hesychius* sub ἐῖσον· ἀγαθόν. On this interpretation see P. von der Mühll (1966) 11–12; C.J. Ruijgh (1987) 535; W. Pötscher (1989) 3.

ἐΐσην.[159] In this case ἐῖσος would not be a real historical form but rather an artificial creation of the epic *Kunstsprache*. There are indeed some good arguments for this interpretation. There is no Indo-European comparative evidence for the historical existence of a form in ἐΐσ-, not even in those languages (Armenian, Albanian, Phrygian) that sometimes share a 'prothetic vowel' with Greek. The form in ἐΐσ- is lexically isolated within the Greek language itself. The form in ἶσ- occurs in various adjectival forms in all three genders, as well as in adverbial forms and various other derivatives (ἰσάζω, ἰσοφαρίζω, ἰσόπεδον, etc.), and it appears in many different semantic, phonetic, and metrical environments. But the form in ἐΐσ- is much more isolated: it appears only in the feminine and almost always occurs in a highly formulaic phrase at the end of the epic verse (ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐΐσην; νηὸς ἐΐσης; δαιτὸς ἐΐσης; φρένας ἔνδον ἐΐσας; along with a few variations on these phrases); it has no linguistic history outside Homer except in a few dactylic hexameter verses imitative of Homer.[160] The Homeric epics themselves offer a ready phonetic avenue for metanalysis: verse-end ἀσπίδα πάντοσε (ϝ)ίσην > ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐΐσην (16x in Homer); which then spread to other verse-end formulas, such as νηὸς (ϝ)ίσης > νηὸς ἐΐσης (5x in Homer), δαιτὸς (ϝ)ίσης > δαιτὸς ἐΐσης (9x in Homer), φρένας ἔνδον (ϝ)ίσας > φρένας ἔνδον ἐΐσας (3x in Homer); and then to looser constructions such as *Il.* 9.225: δαιτὸς μὲν ἐΐσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς (cf. Hesiod fr. 266a line 8 = 266c line 1; *Od.* 8.98; Il. 2.765).

But there are also several problems with this reconstruction. Metrical: it is implausible that such highly functional and common verse-end formulaic phrases like the hypothetical νηὸς (ϝ)ίσης, δαιτὸς (ϝ)ίσης, and φρένας ἔνδον (ϝ)ίσας would have been originally created in a form that resulted in a spondaic fifth foot, and, what is more, in a spondaic fifth foot that was occupied by a single two-syllable word. I cannot find a single example in Homer of an inner metrical pattern of this shape, with the exception of a half dozen or so late constructions that can easily be restored to their earlier, non-contracted, fifth-foot

[159] The possibility of a 'false division' was first posited in a short footnote by E.W. Fay (1897b) 143, n. 2, more carefully and articulately by R.S.P. Beekes (1969) 65–66 (who similarly analyzes Homeric (ἐ)εισάμενος on pages 59–60), and in passing by various Homeric commentators (e.g., *Hainsworth, Iliad Commentary on* 11.61; *S. West, Commentary* on *Od.* 3.10).

[160] Hesiod fr. 266a line 8 = 266c line 1; *H.Ap.* 489; Nicander's *Theriaca* 630; Aratus' *Phaenomena* 1.79; Matro fr. 538.3; Oppian's *Cynegetica* 2.395; *Anthologia Graeca* 6.248.3; *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix* 314.2; Eudocia's *Homerocentones* 4.176.

dactylic forms: Ἠῶ δῖαν (*Il.* 9.240, 11.723, 18.255; *Od.* 9.151, 306, 436, 12.7, 16.368, 19.342; cf. Ἠῶ μίμνον *Il.* 8.565, Ἠῶ μίμνειν *Od.* 18.318, and Ἠῶ δ' αὖτε *Od.* 23.243); αἰδοῖ εἴκων (*Il.* 10.238); ἱδρῶ πολλόν (*Il.* 10.574); δήμου φῆμις (*Od.* 14.239); cf. Λητοῦς υἱός (*H.Herm.* 243, 321, Hesiod's *Scutum* 202; cf. Λητοῦς υἱέ *H.Ap.* 545). The earlier non-contracted forms, which display the very common adonic cadence (– ⏑ ⏑ / – ×) at verse-end, would have been: Ἠόα δῖαν, etc.; αἰδόϊ (ϝ)εἴκων; ἱδρόα πολλόν; δήμοο φῆμις; Λητόος υἱός, etc.[161] Semantic: why would a bard change a presumably common, semantically clear, and acceptable word like (ϝ)ῖσος into a presumably non-existent and non-sensical ἐῖσος? And why would an audience tolerate such a change? There is no semantic motivation for such a development. Precisely the opposite would be much more likely: i.e., that an old-fashioned, no-longer-used or understood ἐῖσος would wherever possible give way to the vernacular ϝῖσος and then, with the loss of digamma, ῖσος. And this is in fact the pattern that we observe in the Homeric text: that the epic diction tended to modernize over time under the influence of the vernacular wherever it could, and that it retained older forms like ἐῖσος and ϝῖσος only where metrically necessary or useful. Mycenaean evidence: lastly, this reconstruction has difficulty accounting for the apparent Mycenaean biforms attested on the Linear B tablets: *e-wi-su-* (KN Se 965, Se 1007, Se 1008; PY Va 404, Va 482) and *wi-so-wo-* (PY Sh 740), the former of which is associated with Homeric ἐΐση, the latter with ῖσος.[162]

In sum, the possibility that junctural metanalysis alone can explain ἐῖσος appears slim. The form was not simply an artificial epic creation but rather a reality of historical linguistic development: either the result

[161] See K. Meister (1921) 6–10, M.L. West (1982) 37, n. 13. Incidentally, the resistance of the Homeric *Kunstsprache* to this inner-metrical shape lends support to κοΐλης δρυὸς ἄμφω as the reading of *Cypria* fr. 15.5 (so *Bernabé* on *Cypria* fr. 15.5) rather than δρυὸς ἄμφω κοίλης of the manuscripts that quote the passage, and, conversely, it supports the manuscript readings at *Il.* 16.756 of the odd compound δηρι(ν)θήτην over the sometimes proposed δῆριν θήτην (so *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 16.756). R.S.P. Beekes' proposal at (1969) 289—that the reconstructed hypothetical formulas νηὸς (ϝ)ίσης, δαιτὸς (ϝ)ίσης, and φρένας ἔνδον (ϝ)ίσας indicate that there once existed in earlier epic a metrical license that was later disallowed—is an egregious example of special pleading. These reconstructions rely not on the principal of *metrum difficilius potius* but of *metrum impossibile potius*!

[162] So J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach (1963) sub ἴσος; J. Chadwick (1973) 330, 348, 378–379, 547; M. Lejeune (1972) 174–175, 211, C.J. Ruijgh (1987) 533–536; *Diccionario Micénico* sub *e-wi-su-zo-ko*, *e-wi-su-*79–ko*, and *wi-so-wo-pa-na*.

of a prothetic vowel that arose uniquely and spontaneously in Greek, as often before digamma plus vowel,[163] or the residue of the earlier PIE laryngeal H_1 (i.e., from *H_1*weys-* or *H_1*weid-*).[164] The same solution can be offered for several other biforms in Homer whose prothetic vowels might initially be suspected of being the products of junctural metanalyses but are better explained as the natural linguistic outcomes of digamma with, or without, preceding laryngeal: e.g., (ἕ)εδνα, (ἐ)είκοσι, (ἐ)έρση, (ἐ)έλδομαι, (ἐ)έλπομαι, (ἐ)έργω, (ἐ)εισάμενος.[165]

Yet I hasten to add that this is not as tidy and uncomplicated a picture as we might hope for: historical linguistics rarely is. There remains the possibility, indeed in some cases the probability, that junctural metanalysis in the epic tradition somehow played a secondary role in establishing one of the biforms over the other in the vernacular. That is to say, the forces at play in the development of the epic *Kunstsprache* worked hand in hand with the external forces of historical linguistic development. Separating the epic *Kunstsprache* from the vernacular, as though the two developed in utter isolation from each other, creates a distorted picture.[166]

The ε- of ἐῖσος, for example, originally the result of a prothetic vowel before digamma or the residue of a laryngeal, disappeared in the vernacular in favor of ϝῖσος, and eventually ἶσος, but it survived in fossilized form in the epic *Kunstsprache*, and not just where metrically and prosodically necessary or useful but also where there occurred an ambiguous intersection of words in formulas like ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐΐσην (recorded as πάντοσε ἴσην in some mss.). It is not inconceivable that junctural ambiguity of this sort in epic diction wielded some influence on the modernization of ἐῖσος as ἶσος in the vernacular.

Likewise, the ambiguous intersection of words in the formulas μυρία ἕδνα (3x in Homer), probably derived from an earlier *μυρί' ἔεδνα, and ἀπερείσια ἕδνα (2x in Homer), probably derived from an earlier

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[163] So *Schwyzer* I 411–412; P. von der Mühll (1966) 9; M. Lejeune (1972) 174–175; W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1972) 37–43.

[164] *H_1*weys-* (hence Homeric ἐεισάμενος, cf. εἶδος) according to C.J. Ruijgh (1987) 538–539; similarly *H_1*weid-* (hence εἶδος) according to *DELG Supplement* sub ἴσος.

[165] See *Schwyzer* I 411–412; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 181–183; M. Lejeune (1972) 174–175; W.F. Wyatt, Jr. (1972) 37–43; C.J. Ruijgh (1987) 538–540.

[166] One might usefully compare—and contrast—the influence of other great literary achievements throughout history on their vernacular: Luther's translation of the Bible on the German language, for example, or the King James Version on the English language.

*ἀπερείσι' ἔεδνα, may have worked hand in hand with natural language developments in the vernacular toward the modernization of ἔεδνα as ἕδνα. The same ambiguity can be observed in such epic phrases as ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἶκόνδ' ἀγάγηται at *Od.* 6.159 (recorded as σὲ ἕδνοισι in some mss.), or πολλὰ δ' ἔεδνα δίδου (Hesiod fr. 200.4; cf. fr. 199.9). Again, while these epic phrases were not a primary factor in the development of the biform, they may have played a secondary role by complementing the modernization in the vernacular.

Similarly, the ambiguous intersection of a hypothetical formula *ἤλυθε ϝεικοστῷ ϝέτεϊ of an early Odyssean-type *Nostos* (cf. ἤλυθον εἰκοστῷ ἔτεϊ ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν 4x in *Odyssey*),[167] derived from an earlier *ἤλυθ' ἐϝεικοστῷ ϝέτεϊ, may have worked hand in hand with natural language developments in the vernacular toward the modernization of ἐεικοστός as εἰκοστός. The same ambiguity can be observed in the epic phrase τόδ' ἐεικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν at *Il.* 24.765 and *Od.* 19.222 (recorded as τόδε εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν in some mss.).

Comparable secondary epic influence may be justly suspected in the modernization of ἐέρση as ἕρση (cf. *Od.* 13.245: αἰεὶ δ' ὄμβρος ἔχει τεθαλυῖά τ' ἐέρση [recorded as τε ἕρση in some mss.]), of ἐέλδωρ as ἔλδωρ (cf. *Od.* 3.418 and 17.242: [τόδε μοι] κρηήνατ' ἐέλδωρ), and of ἐέλπομαι as ἔλπομαι (cf. *Il.* 17.404 and *Od.* 3.275: οὔ ποτε ἔλπετο θυμῷ). But, again, in none of these cases was epic junctural metanalysis the trigger in spawning the new form; rather, the ambiguous junctural situation in the epic diction worked hand in hand with the vernacular, adding momentum to a process of modernization that had already begun there.

Some Final Remarks on Elision and Epic Biforms *λείβω / εἴβω and γαῖα / αἶα*

The epic biforms λείβω/εἴβω 'shed (a tear), pour forth (a libation)' and γαῖα/αἶα 'earth, land, country' have been variously explained with recourse to etymology, semantics, metrics, and phonetics. It is not inconceivable that εἴβω is a metanalyzed form of λείβω. While the phonetic environments that could have spawned such a metanalysis are very limited indeed—since only a few (and necessarily elided) words in

[167] On this reconstruction see A. Hoekstra (1965) 52.

Greek end with a lambda—one can imagine an adverbial phrase such as μεγὰ λείβων or μεγὰ λείβεται being misheard as μεγάλ' εἴβων or μεγάλ' εἴβεται. But along with the limited phonetic opportunity, there is a general lack of imaginable motivation (i.e., metrical, semantic, analogical, etc.) for such a metanalysis.

Somewhat more conceivable, primarily because of the ubiquity of the particle γε in epic diction, including in the elided form γ', would be a metanalysis of γαῖα as αἶα when phrases such as πατρίδι γαίῃ or πατρίδα γαῖαν were misheard as πατρίδι γ' αἴῃ or πατρίδα γ' αἶαν. This type of construction—with the particle separating an adjective from the noun it modifies—is well within Homeric usage (e.g., ἀέκοντι γε θυμῷ *Il.* 4.43), and the role of the elidible particle γε in facilitating metanalyses can be observed elsewhere in Γάβιοι > γ' Ἄβιοι, and, in the reverse process, πτολέμοιο γ' ἔφυραι > πτολέμοιο γέφυραι.[168] A metanalysis of γαῖα as γ' αἶα would follow the pattern of the former.[169]

But there is an explanation much more obvious than metanalysis for the two biforms: εἴβω and αἶα are simply *metri causa* decapitations of λείβω and γαῖα, having lost their initial consonants owing to the metrical conditions in the traditional formulaic families of phrases within which they were generated.[170] I wish to provide a few observations about this solution here because *metri causa* decapitation and junctural metanalysis have both proved to be surprisingly powerful forces in creating innovative, although utterly artificial, words and forms within the confines of the epic *Kunstsprache*, and they share some remarkably similar features and consequences. Any light shed on the one cannot help but illuminate the other.

When metrics and morphology come into conflict in epic verse 'metrical license' may offer a remedy: e.g., a dactylic hexameter verse

[168] On these two examples of metanalysis facilitated by elidible γε see S. Reece (2001b) and (2006) and chapters nine and eighteen of this work.

[169] But I find only one advocate of this solution: E.R. Wharton (1882) sub αἶα, who defines αἶα as γαῖα, proposing a misdivision of πατρίδα γαῖαν as πατρίδα γ' αἶαν, but with no further explanation.

[170] This explanation of εἴβω is skillfully articulated by R. Strömberg (1960), of both εἴβω and αἶα by M.W. Haslam (1976). This solution for εἴβω was suggested already by *Lobeck* I 108–109 and has recently achieved fairly wide acceptance: cf. *S. West*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 4.153; *Hainsworth*, *Odyssey Commentary on* 8.531. This solution for αἶα has been acknowledged, though not fully explained, for some time: cf. *Lobeck* I 92, 108–109; *LSJ* sub αἶα; *Chantraine*, *Grammaire* I 112; *DELG* sub αἶα.

may begin with ἐπεὶ δὴ ([⏑ – / –] what the ancients called a στίχος ἀκέφαλος) or end with αἰόλον ὄφιν ([– ⏑ ⏑ / ⏑ × ‖] what the ancients called a στίχος μείουρος). On the other hand, a remedy to the conflict may also be found in 'morphological license': e.g., the first syllables of ὄνομα and ἐαρινός may be diphthongized as οὔνομα and εἰαρινός. One of the most egregious examples of 'morphological license' is *metri causa* decapitation, which was apparently the fate of λείβω (> εἴβω) and γαῖα (> αἶα).

Λείβω and γαῖα are clearly the earlier forms, and εἴβω and αἶα are their idiosyncratic offspring. Λείβω has good Indo-European credentials (cf. Latin *libare*), many Greek derivatives (e.g., nominal λοιβή and λίψ), and a long history in Greek literature of many different periods and genres.[171] Εἴβω, on the other hand, has no identifiable Indo-European cognates, no Greek derivatives, and it occurs almost exclusively in epic verse in places where λείβω does not fit metrically.[172] A close examination of far the most common Homeric formulaic expression in which the biforms occur yields clues sufficient to solve the puzzle internally. Λείβω occurs most often in Homer in the final position of the verse, where it is always preceded by the plural form of the word δάκρυα ('shedding tears'): δάκρυα λείβων (*Il.* 13.658; 18.32; *Od.* 5.84, 158; 8.86, 93, 532; 16.214); δάκρυα λεῖβον (*Il.* 13.88). Εἴβω suffers even greater constriction, occurring exclusively at verse-end position, where it is always preceded by the singular form of the word δάκρυον, which is in turn preceded in all but two instances by a modifying adjective: τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβεις (*Il.* 16.11); τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβει (*Il.* 19.323);

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171 Latin *libare* 'to pour a libation' is the closest Indo-European cognate, in addition to which some Balto-Slavic cognates meaning 'to pour' have also been adduced: e.g., Slavic *liti*, Lithuanian *lieti*. See *Boisacq*, *GEW*, *DELG*, and *LfgE* sub λείβω.

172 Some Indo-European cognates have been tentatively proposed, but none has gained wide acknowledgement. *Boisacq* sub εἴβω reconstructs PIE **seig^{w}o*, which became Greek *εἴβω, then εἴβω, adducing Gothic *siggan*, Old Norse *søkkua*, Old High German *sinkan* 'to fall, sink, subside.' Some have proposed Greek derivatives in the presumably itacized Hesychian glosses ἰβάνη/ἴβανον 'water jug' and ἰβανᾷ 'draw water,' and in the word ἴβδης 'a plug in a ship's bottom,' mentioned twice by Eustathius (see *GEW* and *Hofmann* sub εἴβω). Others have tried to connnect εἴβω to ἰκμάς 'moisture,' which presumably spawned a verb *εἴκω, which then sprouted a beta by contamination from λείβω (see *GEW* and *DELG* sub εἴβω). None of these suggestions generates any degree of confidence. The attempt to relate εἴβω to ὑγρός 'moist' (see W.A. Borgeaud [1969] and *DGE* sub εἴβω) seems a particularly desperate stab in the dark, the only shared phonetic feature being the possible labiovelar origin of β and γ. Perhaps the ancient lexicographers displayed a measure of prudence in simply attaching to εἴβω the label 'aphaeresis' (e.g., *Tryphon* Περὶ Παθῶν 3.3).

θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβεν (*Il.* 24.9); πυκνὸν ὑπ᾽ ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἶβε (*Od.* 4.153); ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ᾽ ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἶβεν (*Od.* 8.531); θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων (*Od.* 11.391); ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ᾽ ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἶβον (*Od.* 16.219); τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβοι (*Od.* 16.332); κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβε (*Od.* 24.234); κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων (*Od.* 24.280).

The focus on a single tear may have the effect of eliciting greater pathos, especially when that single tear is modified by a pathetic adjective: 'tender,' 'swollen,' 'rapid,' 'pitiable.' But whatever the difference in nuance between the λείβ- and εἴβ- formulas, the mechanics that created the latter can best be described functionally. Once a poet under the constraints of extemporaneous oral composition had committed to a single tear, and even before that to a singular adjective modifying it, rather than to plural tears, with no modifying adjective, the metrical conditions were changed to such a degree that he could not use the normal form of the verb at verse end: δάκρυον λείβων, with a cretic in the fifth foot, would have been too irregular metrically. The effective, if surprising, solution, was the decapitation of λείβω as εἴβω. That is to say, when metrics and morphology came into conflict here, an extreme measure of 'morphological license' offered a remedy.

Similarly, while neither the common word γῆ nor its poetic form γαῖα has an established etymology, as no clear cognates have presented themselves in other Indo-European languages, they contain a root that is very productive in Greek itself, with a host of derivatives (e.g., verbal γεόομαι, adjectival ἔγγειος) and compounds (e.g., γεωργός, ἐννοσίγαιος), and with a long history in Greek literature of many different periods and genres.[173] Αἶα, on the other hand, in addition to having no identifiable etymology, Indo-European or otherwise, has no Greek derivatives, and it occurs almost exclusively in poetic verse in places where γαῖα will not fit metrically.[174] In Homer various forms of γαῖα occur 297 times and

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[173] On the absence of any acceptable etymology see *Boisacq*, *GEW*, and *DELG* sub γῆ, *LfgE* sub γαῖα. R.S.P. Beekes (2007) 6 has recently proposed a substratal origin.

[174] Some Indo-European cognates have been tentatively suggested, but none has gained wide acceptance. Some, adducing Sanskrit *sasyám* 'harvest,' Avestan *hahya-* 'grain,' and Welsh *haidd* 'grain,' have reconstructed PIE **sasya* or **sawsya*, which became Greek αἶα with the loss of initial and intervocalic /s/ and /w/ (in favor of this view is *Boisacq* sub αἶα; against are *GEW* and *DELG* sub αἶα, M.W. Haslam [1976] 207). Some have reconstructed PIE **as-ya* < *H_2s-* 'dry,' comparing Greek ἄζω 'dry up' (*Van Windekens* and *GED* sub αἶα), or **saws-yā* < **seH-us-yeh* 'dry [land],' comparing Slavic *súša* 'dry land, mainland' (V.I. Georgiev [1974] 272). And some have associated αἶα 'earth' with its homonym αἶα 'grandmother,' from an earlier *ἄϝια related to Latin

are found in almost every possible position of the verse, while forms of αἶα occur only 28 times and are found only in the last position of the verse: this distribution alone is a strong indication that γαῖα is the primary form of which αἶα is a derivative.[175]

A closer examination of the most common family of formulas in Homer in which the Homeric biforms occur yields evidence sufficient to prove this point. The family of formulas that comprises the oblique declensional forms of πατρὶς γαῖα 'native land' usually fills the space between the bucolic diaeresis and verse end. In the accusative case this results in πατρίδα γαῖαν (62 times at verse end; 16 times elsewhere in the verse). In the dative case this results in πατρίδι γαίῃ (16 times at verse end). But in the genitive case, which ends with the consonant sigma, which along with the initial gamma of γαίης would cause the preceding syllable to make position, we find πατρίδος αἴης (7 times at verse end). In other words, a poet in the process of declining the familiar formula, when confronted with the resulting metrical irregularity of πατρίδος γαίης, which like δάκρυον λείβων would have produced a cretic in the fifth foot, found a resolution in an extreme form of 'morphological license': the decapitation of γαίης as αἴης.

If indeed, as seems to be the case, εἴβω and αἶα are the result of *metri causa* decapitation within the confines of the epic *Kunstsprache*, perhaps we—with our highly textual and literate mindset and biases—need to be more appreciative of the capacity of the musical rhythms of orally performed poetry to override lexical morphology, and more alert to the penchant of the epic *Kunstsprache* for generating innovative forms and even new words. This is where *metri causa* decapitation and junctural metanalysis share some common ground, for in both processes the morphology of words yields to the sound of poetry in performance, resulting in decapitated and metanalyzed forms that are utterly unlikely on normal etymological and semantic grounds. These words and forms that result from both *metri causa* decapitation and junctural metanalysis

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avia 'grandmother,' observing that the earth is the great mother of all living things (for those in favor of this view, see *Boisacq*, *DELG*, *Hofmann*, and *LfgE* sub αἶα; against this view are *Pokorny* sub **awo-s*, *GEW* sub αἶα, and M.W. Haslam [1976] 207). None of these explanations—as with those for εἴβω—generates any degree of confidence, and, again, perhaps the ancient lexicographers (and now the *DGE* sub αἶα) displayed a measure of prudence in simply attaching to αἶα, as εἴβω, the label 'aphaeresis' (e.g., *Tryphon* Περὶ Παθῶν 3.3).

175 The odd proposal that γαῖα is a combination of earlier γῆ and αἶα (see *GEW* sub γαῖα, *DELG* sub γῆ) belies the distribution of the words in Homer and elsewhere.

owe their existence to the oral conditions of historic epic performance. They are creations of the epic *Kunstsprache*, and their etymologies can be found not by searching for cognates and derivatives but by learning how 'to elucidate Homer from Homer.'

As a rule these decapitated or metanalyzed forms will be much more lexically isolated than the forms that generated them. But they may not remain completely isolated. For they often escape the metrical or phonetic environments that spawned them to become, at least to some degree, legitimate words in their own right. So decapitated εἴβω begins to show some flexibility already in Homer by appearing in various verbal forms (εἴβεις, εἴβει, εἶβον, εἶβεν, εἴβοι, εἴβων), even while it remains securely bound to its verse-end formula. It even begats a compound form—κατείβομαι—which occurs six times in Homer in various positions in the verse. By the time of Hesiod the simplex too has escaped to appear in a new form in mid-verse—τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο δερκομενάων (*Theogony* 910)—whereafter it appears, albeit very rarely, in Sophocles, Apollonius of Rhodes, Bion, Oppian, Quintus, and the Anthologia Graeca (all probably in imitation of Homer). Similarly, decapitated αἶα, while remaining trapped in its verse-end position, finds its way into some additional formulaic phrases—a nominative formula φυσίζοος αἶα (2x) and an accusative formula πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν (5x)—and it even begins to occur rather more freely outside these formulaic constructions (5x). It continues to be used in an increasingly free way in Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, although even there it remains in its favored verse-end position. But by the 5th century αἶα is very freely used in tragedy as a metrically useful alternative to γαῖα anywhere in the verse.

These historical patterns and developments are remarkably like those of the metanalyzed forms that we have been examining. There are some important differences, of course: *metri causa* decapitation is primarily an oral phenomenon, junctural metanalysis primarily aural; *metri causa* decapitation is motivated by strict metrical conditions such as those found in the dactylic hexameter verse, while junctural metanalysis can be motivated more generally by the oral/aural reception of prosaic speech as well as metrical poetry; *metri causa* decapitation occurs somewhat more by design than by accident, but junctural metanalysis occurs rather more by accident than design. Nonetheless the two processes are analogous enough that the study of one can complement and illuminate the study of the other. And a study of both can reveal in very surprising ways the generative capacity of the traditional epic art-language.

In this long chapter we have considered how the practice of eliding final vowels in certain Greek word-combinations, a practice so ubiquitous in epic diction, has resulted in junctural metanalysis, and how these metanalyzed forms have subsequently evolved into self-sufficient members of the epic lexicon: ὀκρυόεις, κτιδέη, ἐμμεμαώς, λάχεια, ἠβαιός, θειλόπεδον, τανηλεγής, ἀβληχρός, ἀλαπάζω/ἀλαπαδνός, ὄβριμος, ὦλξ, ἄσσα, and possibly ἐῖσος, εἴβω, and αἶα. There are doubtless many more lurking in the shadows of the epic *Kunstsprache*. In the next chapter I consider the role of elision in the resegmentation of two ancient toponyms: Ἰθώμη, the name of a town on the Thessalian plain, which appears to go back to a metanalysis of the phrase ἐνὶ Θώμῃ; Ἀπαισός, the name of a town on the Hellespont, which may go back to τείχεα Παισοῦ. And in some of the subsequent chapters on individual words and formulas that make up the second part of this work, I consider at greater length, since they are of correspondingly greater interest, the ethnic Σελλοί, the name of the priests of Dodona, which may go back to σ' Ἑλλοί, and the ethnic Ἄβιοι, the name of a Thracian tribe, which appears to go back to Γάβιοι (understood as γ' Ἄβιοι), along with several other puzzling epithets and formulaic phrases: φολκός, an epithet of the physically misshapen Thersites, which goes back to a metanalysis of a phrase such as τότ' ἐφολκός 'dragging' (i.e., the foot); ἰγνύη, part of a warrior's leg that sustains a wound, which goes back to ἐπὶ γνύῃσι 'upon the knees'; κρῆθεν, an adverb, which goes back to κατ' ἄκρηθεν 'down from the height'; ἀσφοδελός, an epithet for the underworld, which goes back to κατὰ σποδελὸν λειμῶνα 'throughout the ash-filled meadow'; πτολέμοιο γεφύρας, a formula describing part of the battlefield, which goes back to πτολέμοιο γ' ἐφύρας 'the siegeworks of war'; and ἄπτερος, an epithet describing a speech, which goes back to ἔπεα πτερόεντα 'winged words.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS OF HOMERIC TOPONYMS

Introduction

Toponyms ('place names'), like proper nouns generally, are susceptible to various kinds of linguistic change. Change is especially prevalent among groups of people on the move: when they migrate to new lands, for example, and are discovering new mountain ranges and rivers, and founding new villages and towns. Under these conditions toponyms can arise from at least three sources. The migrating people may bring with them some names from the lands they have recently vacated. In the case of the toponyms of the individual states of America, for example, we find New Hampshire, from the English county of Hampshire, and Delaware, from the English Baron De la Warr. These toponyms are usually very old, and so they are often composed of obsolete lexical and semantic elements. Secondly, recently arrived immigrants may borrow toponyms, just as they do the names of flora and fauna, from the indigenous peoples of the new lands ('substratal borrowing'), such as Kentucky, from the Iroquoian *kentahten* 'land of tomorrow,' and Connecticut, from the Mohican *quinnehtukqut* 'beside the long tidal river.' Thirdly, they may borrow toponyms from foreign cultures unrelated to themselves or to the indigenous peoples ('adstratal borrowing'), as in the case of Rhode Island, from the Greek island of Rhodes.

The etymological components of toponyms from all three sources can be perplexing to a migrating people: they are prone to mispronouncing these names (e.g., Cairo, Missouri—pronounced kā´-rō, mŭ-zûr´-ŭ), and they have a strong inclination toward folk etymologizing (e.g., that Oregon is related to oregano, or to the kingdom of Aragon). Toponyms from various sources can be combined in remarkable ways: Xenia, Illinois (Greek and Algonquin); Memphis, Tennessee (Egyptian and Cherokee). Moreover, toponyms commonly occur not as isolated items but in formulaic phrases composed of two or more words (e.g., at ___, in ___, upon ___, on ___, to ___, from ___, ___-ward), the combination of which can lead to changes in the form of the toponym: the Old English Aetstretfordae 'at the place where the road crosses the

ford' became analyzed simply as Stratford, which was commonly called Stratford-on-Avon (the birthplace of Shakespeare), since it was on the river Avon, but which has sometimes since been called Stratfordon Avon. Finally, toponyms often endure for long periods exclusively in orally transmitted media—songs, stories, genealogies—where they are subject to misspeaking, mishearing, and thereby to linguistic changes of many kinds. For all these reasons, toponyms are more susceptible than other words to the types of metanalysis treated in this work.

Before wandering into the difficult terrain of Ancient Greek toponyms, let me offer, by way of analogy, a few demonstrable examples of metanalysis of toponyms in the more modern languages. Yorkshire, England used to be divided into three districts called Thridings 'thirds': North Thriding, East Thriding, and West Thriding. North Thriding 'the northern third-part' was metanalyzed as North Riding. The metanalysis was very tempting on phonetic grounds, but it was perhaps facilitated by the preference of a name that made some sense ('Riding'—a place to 'ride' one's horse) over a name that had become semantically obsolete ('Thriding'). The metanalysis was then extended by analogy to East Riding and West Riding.[1]

Equally curious is the etymology of South London's Tooley Street, which was named after the Norwegian King Saint Olaf through the following process: *Saint Olave Street* > *St. Oley Street* > *Stooley Street* > *Tooley Street*.[2] We have already observed similar developments in *Saint Audry's lace* > *tawdry lace* > *tawdry* and *Saint Anthony* > *Tantony pig*.

Many English toponyms with initial *N*-, such as Nash, Noke, and Nayland, have similar linguistic histories. They arose from a metanalysis of Middle English phrases composed of the definite article before a dative case: *atten Ashe* 'at the ash tree,' *atten Oke* 'at the oak tree,' and *atten Eilande* 'at the island' (cf. the toponyms Nalder, Nye, Nechells, and Nempnett). Several toponyms with initial *R*-, such as Rey, Rye, and Rivar, have similar origins: Middle English *atter eye* 'at the river' was metanalyzed as *atte Rey*, *atter ye* 'at the island' as *atte Rye*, *atter iver* 'at the promontory' as *atte Rivar*.[3]

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[1] According to O. Jespersen (1922) 173.

[2] According to Thomas Carlyle's short history of the early kings of Norway (1875) 152–153.

[3] These English examples are drawn from *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names* (V. Watts, et al. [edd.] [2004]) and *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (E. Ekwall [1960]).

We may compare from Old Irish the toponym *Dún n-Áis* 'Fortress on the Ridge,' which was metanalyzed as *Dún Naís*, which in turn became the name of the modern town *Naas* in the county of Kildare near Dublin; also *An Obair* 'The Work,' which was metanalyzed as *Nobber*, a village in the county of Meath. For similar reasons the foreign toponym *Armenia* was metanalyzed as *Nairmein* in Irish.[4]

And, as we have already observed in a previous chapter, the agglutination and deglutination of the definite article in the Romance languages triggered a considerable number of metanalyses in this language family generally. These include several toponyms: e.g., French *L'Isle* > *Lille* 'Island,' *l'Aquitania* > *la Quitania* 'Guyenne,' and *l'Apouille* > *la Pouille* 'Apulia' (cf. Italian *l'Apulia* > *la Puglia* 'Apulia'). A similar process, with deglutination of a falsely perceived article, can be observed in some Arabic toponyms that were in origin loan words from Greek: e.g., Ἀλεξάνδρεια > Arabic *Al-Iskandariya* > *Iskandariya.*

Classical/Medieval/Modern Greek

In our search for possibly metanalyzed toponyms in Homer it will be useful to work our way backwards, *obscuriora per obscura*, from the better known and well attested corpus of toponyms in Modern and Medieval Greek, to the less known and less well attested toponyms of Classical Greek, and finally to the truly puzzling panoply of toponyms in the Homeric epics, the most notorious specimens of which are the long catalogues of the Achaean and Trojan contingents in Book 2 of the *Iliad*. The clearly observable process of metanalysis of toponyms in Modern and Medieval Greek can serve heuristically to shed some light on what may have happened in the more obscure conditions of Classical and Homeric Greek.

Because of the special situation of the definite article in the later history of the Greek language, with τόν, τήν occurring before a vowel, τό, τή before a consonant, in the masculine and feminine accusative singular, Modern Greek offers many examples of prothesis of ν-: e.g., the ancient accusative singular τὸν ὦμο(ν) 'shoulder' came to be pronounced νῶμο (in the accusative), whence the nominative νῶμος; similarly νουρά from οὐρά 'tail,' νωμίτης from ὠμίτης 'yoke,' νοικοκυρά/νοικοκύρης

[4] These Irish examples are drawn from the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (E.G. Quin, et al. [edd.] [1913–1976]).

from οἰκοκυρά/οἰκοκύρης 'house wife/house husband.'[5] Toponyms beginning with an intrusive N- may reasonably be suspected of having resulted from the same process: Νικαριά from τὴν Ἰκαριάν (the island of Icarus); Νίμβρος from τὸν Ἴμβρον (a gorge in Crete); Νηδά from τὴν Ἰδά (the plain at the base of Mt. Ida in Crete). Such metanalyses were commonplace during the Frankish, Venetian, and Turkish occupations of Greece, as local toponyms were misapprehended by foreign ears: Frankish Negripon, and eventually Negroponte, from τὸν Ἔγριπον (i.e., Εὔριπος, the channel between Euboea and mainland Greece); Frankish Nepantum, from τὸν Ἔπακτον (Naupactus); Frankish Nio and Nanfio from τὸν Ἴον and τὴν Ἀνάφην (the Cyladic islands); Venetian Navarino from τὸν Ἀβαρίνον (castle of the Avars); Byzantine Nezero from τὸν Ἔζερον (a village in northern Greece named after *ezero*, the Bulgarian word for 'lake'); Byzantine Nisvoro from τὸν Ἰσβορόν (a village in the Chalcidice).[6]

Another phonological process that began to occur in the Greek language during the early Medieval period was the disappearance of pretonic initial vowels. Word-initial vowels (with the exception of ἀ-) that occurred in unaccented syllables preceding accented syllables began to degrade and eventually disappear altogether: e.g., οὐδέν > δέν 'not,' ὀλίγος > λίγος 'little,' ἡμέρα > μέρα 'day.'[7] One specific ramification of this larger phonological process particularly concerns us here: the very common constructions in which the preposition εἰς 'to' was followed by a definite article in the accusative case εἰς τόν, εἰς τήν, εἰς τό, εἰς τούς, εἰς τάς, εἰς τά took on the forms στόν, στήν, στό, στούς, στάς, στά. Many remarkable metanalyses arose in toponyms preceded by these forms: Venetian Stanco (Turkish Istanköy) from εἰς τὴν Κῶ (the island of Cos); Venetian Stalimene from εἰς τὴν Λῆμνον (the island of Lemnos); Venetian Stasinas from εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας (Athens); Byzantine Stamboul (i.e., Istamboul) from εἰς τὴν πόλιν ('the City'). Possibly to be included in this category are Standia from εἰς τὴν Δίαν (the island of Dia off the north shore of Crete) and Stagoi (i.e., modern Kalambaka) apparently from εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους (because of the monasteries of Meteora

[5] These examples are drawn from N.P. Andriotes (1951); cf. A. Thumb (1912) 25 and M. Leumann (1950) 41–42.

[6] Several of these metanalyzed Greek toponyms are mentioned as curiosities in W. Miller (1908) 22, 158–160, A.S. Palmer (1882) 569, and R. Barber (1995) 287.

[7] For a description of this phonological process, with several illustrative examples, see R. Browning (1983) 57–58.

there).[8] We may detect an intermediary step between εἰς τὴν Κῶ and Stanco, for example, in a number of late Greek toponyms that have such forms as Sta Glastria (on Melos), Sta Oikia (on Lesbos), Sten Nitike (on the Euxine), and Stin Trypiti (on Thasos), which presumably evolved from εἰς τὰ Γλαστριά, εἰς τὰ οἰκία, εἰς τὴν Νιτικήν, and εἰς τὴν Τρυπιτίν.

It is likely that at various times throughout the history of the Greek language metanalysis of toponyms owing to a preceding word ending in -ς occurred in phonological environments other than after στούς and στάς: after the simple and common preposition εἰς/ἐς; likewise after simple τούς and τάς; and, for that matter, after any of a number of other adjectives and verbs with declensional and conjugational endings in -ς. We know that Frankish Satines and Stivas arose from -ς Ἀθήνας (Athens) and -ς Θήβας (Thebes); the Thessalian village Skumbos probably arose from a metanalysis -ς Γόμφους (Gomphoi).[9] It is plausible, therefore, that metanalysis of the simple and common constructions that involved final -ς plus toponym can explain some of the *s*- and *s*-less biforms of Greek toponyms from a much earlier period as well—perhaps even as far back as the Classical period. The biforms Στύμφαια/Τύμφαια, for example, may go back to such a metanalysis. The earliest reference to this region between Epirus and Macedonia is Callimachus' *Hymn to Diana* 178, where the poet praises the plowing ability of the Stymphaean kine. Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Arrian also mention the region by the name Stymphaea. But Theophrastus, Lycophron, and Strabo, as well as, in Latin, Livy and Pliny, call the region Tymphaea, and, reportedly, so did the historian Proxenus. Herodian and Hesychius too refer to the region as Tymphaea, and Stephanus attributes to the region a mountain named Tymphe and a city named Tymphaea. The biforms Σκαρδαμύλη/Καρδαμύλη may have a similar origin. Καρδαμύλη on the eastern shore of the Messenian gulf was one of seven towns promised by Agamemnon to Achilles in *Il.* 9.150. The town is also mentioned by Herodotus, Strabo, and Pausanias by that name. But Herodian states, and Stephanus later repeats, that the locals called themselves Σκαρδαμυλίτης rather than Καρδαμυλίτης.

[8] Some of these metanalyzed Greek toponyms are mentioned in W. Miller (1908) 22, 151, 158–160, A.S. Palmer (1882) 569, and R. Barber (1995) 432.

[9] W. Miller (1908) 151, 159, and W.M. Leake (1835) 263 attribute these toponyms to this process, but assume, needlessly, that the earlier collocations included both preposition and definite article: στὰς Ἀθήνας, στὰς Θήβας, στοὺς Γόμφους.

And in more modern times too the town has occasionally been called Skardamyle or Scardamoula. We may also add to this list the biforms Σκύδρα/Κύδραι, the former mentioned by Theagenes, the latter by Strabo, as the name of a town in Macedonia.

Homer

Of the roughly 9000 words in the Homeric lexicon some 1400 are proper names: of gods and humans, regions and towns, mountains and rivers, etc. Toponyms constitute a disproportionate share of the entries of a Homeric dictionary. The famous Catalogue of Ships alone includes the names of 146 towns and cities, together with the names of larger districts, islands, mountains, rivers, lakes, and springs (*Il.* 2.494–759). Many Homeric toponyms have not been securely identified to this day, in spite of the energetic quests of archaeologists further and further afield. And for good reason: some of the sites designated by these names were unknown even to Homer and his audience, since they had long been depopulated, and since their physical remains were inconspicuous. By Homer's time they were merely names, embedded in formulaic phrases and catalogues, that owed their survival solely to the oral epic tradition through which their memory was transmitted. Modern archaeological tools—e.g., magnetometers and other remote sensing devices, computer-aided cartography, aerial and satellite photography—have recently brought some of these sites to light. Unexpected discoveries—e.g., the name of a Mycenaean town deciphered on a Linear B tablet; the physical remains of a Mycenaean town exposed by a drop in the water level of a lake—have shed light on some other sites. The traces of many have been obscured by the passing of time, however, and perhaps a different kind of archaeology—a linguistic archaeology—may offer a useful additional tool for their excavation.

Like the 18th c. A.D. European immigrants to the New World, the 21st c. B.C. Indo-European immigrants to what is now known as Greece brought to their new home some toponyms from their old homeland (e.g., Erythrae, Medeon). But they took many more from the indigenous inhabitants of the land (e.g., Corinth, Parnassus). Others were borrowed from foreign lands (e.g., Thebes, Mycenae). The etymological components of many of these toponyms must have been perplexing to the newly arrived immigrants; hence, they were prone to mispronounce these names and change their shapes in various ways, and they must have devised many folk etymologies to explain both the old and new

forms. Also, in ancient Greek, as in English, these toponyms commonly occurred in formulaic phrases composed of two or more words (e.g., εἰς/ἐς ___, εἰν/ἐν/ἐνί/εἰνί ___, ἐκ/ἐξ ___, ___-θι, ___-φι(ν), ___-δε, ___-θεν), the combination of which could lead to further changes in form. And, of course, many of these toponyms survived solely in orally transmitted epic songs, without the standardizing force of written records, and so were subject to misspeaking, mishearing, and thereby to changes of various sorts. For all these reasons, Homeric toponyms were very susceptible to change. The many textual variants of place names in our inherited texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are witnesses to this susceptibility, and they suggest that during the earlier oral transmission of the epics as well these toponyms were a ripe field for the types of metanalyses that are the subject of this work.

How is one to begin a search for metanalyzed forms amongst so vast an array of Homeric toponyms? As we have seen, words in Homeric Greek are prone to metanalysis in many common phonetic environments: e.g., after words ending in a regular final or movable consonant or an elidable vowel. Homeric toponyms are found most commonly in the following formulaic combinations: εἰς/ἐς + accusative case of toponym; εἰν/ἐν/ἐνί/εἰνί + dative case of toponym; ἐκ/ἐξ + genitive case of toponym; epithet ending in -ν + accusative case of toponym. Hence, we are likely to achieve a more productive search by first examining those toponyms that begin with Σ, Ν, Κ, Ξ, and Ι. Less common formulaic combinations include: κατ(ά) or ἀν(ά) + accusative case of toponym; ἀπ(ό) + genitive case of toponym or ___-θεν; ὑπ(ό) + accusative or dative case of toponym. Hence, we should also include in our search those toponyms beginning with A and O. But we must keep in mind that metanalysis of toponyms may have occurred in many other common collocations in Homeric Greek as well: after τε/τ'/θ', γε/γ', κεν/κε/κ', ἄρα/ἄρ/ῥα/ῥ', etc.

A close examination of all Homeric toponyms and their variants reveals several possible candidates for metanalysis. Some toponyms, like Παισός and Ἀπαισός, actually occur as variant names for the same location within the Homeric narrative. Some, like Σκάμανδρος and Κάμανδρος and Ὑρίη and Θυρίη, appear as variants in our inherited Homeric manuscripts. Some, like Νῖσα and Ἶσος, Ἰθώμη and Θώμη, Ἄρνη and Τάρνη, and Ἀραιθυρέη and Παραιθυρέη, are biforms that are entertained as alternative readings by the ancient Homeric grammarians and commentators. And some, like Ἄβιοι and Γάβιοι, Σελλοί and Ἑλλοί, Ἀσπληδών and Σπληδών, Ἀλύβη and Χαλύβης, and Σκάρφη

and Κάρφη, are biforms, or at least possible biforms, that appear in one form in Homer and in another in later Greek literature.

The Trojan river Σκάμανδρος appears sixteen times in the *Iliad*, if we include its adjectival forms, but according to the Homeric scholia some ancient scholars preferred Κάμανδρος for metrical reasons: because a preceding short syllable did not 'make position' before the Σκ- of Σκάμανδρος. Many modern scholars explain away the form Κάμανδρος as an ancient attempt to 'correct' the perceived metrical anomaly. But a considerable number of manuscripts of Homer record Κάμανδρος instead of Σκάμανδρος in many Homeric passages, as also in Hesiod (*Theogony* 345), and the epic poet Nonnus calls the river Κάμανδρος in three passages of his *Dionysiaca*. Something more may be going on here than simple scholarly tampering with a text; it is plausible that junctural metanalysis was at least partly responsible for the biforms.

Several obscure towns mentioned in the Achaean Catalogue of Ships have variant forms in the Homeric manuscripts, in the records of the ancient Homeric commentators, grammarians, and lexicographers, and in later Greek literature generally. The town Ὑρίη, for example, which is included in the Boeotian contingent (*Il.* 2.496), and was probably located near Aulis, appeared in some early manuscripts as Θυρίη according to the scholiasts: i.e., they read οἵ Θυρίην ἐνέμοντο instead of οἵ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο (with a conjunction θ') at *Il.* 2.496. In fact Θυρίην is the reading in one surviving Homeric manuscript as well.

The town Ἄρνη, which is also included in the Boeotian contingent (*Il.* 2.507), and was located somewhere around lake Copais (although no ancient or modern town has ever been securely associated with it), appeared in some early manuscripts as Τάρνη according to the scholiasts. The biform may have arisen for metrical reasons, for Ἄρνη does not scan properly in the formula in which it is embedded: οἵ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον.

The town Ἀσπληδών, which is included in the contingent of Orchomenos (*Il.* 2.511), and was probably located on the north shore of Lake Copais, appears in an elegy of the 3rd c. B.C. poet Asclepiades as Σπληδών in the formulaic phrase Σπληδόνα τ' ἠγαθέην. Herodian calls into question the Homeric form Ἀσπληδών, labeling it a 'pleonastic' form of Σπληδών, and reports that Apollodorus too considered the latter to be the genuine form.

The town Ἀραιθυρέην, which is included in the Mycenaean contingent (*Il.* 2.571), and was thought by the ancients to have been the earlier name for Phlious on the Phliasian plain (so Strabo and the

Homeric scholia on this passage), appeared, according to the report of Aristonicus, in the form Παραιθυρέην in Zenodotus' edition or commentary of the *Iliad*. The biform may simply have been invented to obviate the hiatus in the passage after the verb ἐνέμοντο. Or perhaps Zenodotus, or his scholarly predecessors, knew of the town Θυρέα on the border between Laconia and Argos, and they understood the reading of the Homeric text to be παραὶ Θυρέην.

The town Σκάρφη, which is included in the Locrian contingent (*Il.* 2.532), and is probably to be identified with later Σκάρφεια on the southern shore of the Malian gulf, has a possible biform in Κάρφη, which according to the Homeric scholia was the name of the island to which Aegisthus banished Clytemnestra's bard and guardian (scholia on *Od.* 3.270).

The obscure Ἀλύβη, which is included in the contingent of the Halizones in the Trojan Catalogue (*Il.* 2.857), where it is described as a far-off land where silver was produced, was early on in antiquity equated with the land of the Χάλυβες on the southern coast of the Black Sea (so Strabo). Some even proposed that τηλόθεν ἐκ Χαλύβης should be read for τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης in Homer (so Demetrius of Scepsis). This was probably due to the fact that no ancient area by the name Ἀλύβη was known to exist, while the well-known Χάλυβες, being a far-off, iron-producing area, fit the location and description of Homeric Ἀλύβη very well. Also, a strongly glottalized initial vowel of a foreign name may have been perceived in Greek to be somewhere between the phonetic range of Ἀ- (later deaspirated) and Χα-.

After close examination of these and many other toponymic biforms in Homer it seems advisable to attribute some to causes other than junctural metanalysis: Σκάμανδρος/Κάμανδρος to a perceived metrical anomaly; Ὑρίη/Θυρίη to an ambiguity of the textual *scriptio continua*; Ἄρνη and Τάρνη to a metrical difficulty; Ἀραιθυρέη/Παραιθυρέη to an attempt to obviate hiatus, or, alternatively, to a misreading as παραὶ Θυρέην; Ἀλύβη/Χαλύβης to the exoticism of a foreign name. It is possible that others have suffered some sort of metanalysis, but the evidence is so tenuous that the circumstances remain utterly inexplicable: Ἀσπληδών/Σπληδών and Σκάρφη/Κάρφη. But a few appear to be excellent candidates for metanalysis. These include the three that I now proceed to treat in detail below: Νῖσα/ˀΙσα (ˀΙσος); ʾΙθώμη/Θώμη; Παισός/Ἀπαισός. I will consider the ethnics Ἄβιοι/Γάβιοι and Σελλοί/ Ἑλλοί at greater length in chapters to follow.

Νῖσα / ˀΙσος

The Homeric Catalogue of Ships begins with the Boeotian contingent, the largest in number of towns (twenty-nine) and leaders (five), and also one of the largest in number of troops (fifty ships with one-hundred-twenty men on each). It is one of the most complicated and obscure entries in the catalogue: it meanders somewhat aimlessly around Boeotia's towns, of which to this day fewer than half have been securely located, several remain utterly unknown, and about the rest there remains a good deal of uncertainty. Yet, there also appears to be some underlying sense of order here: the list begins with two of the southernmost harbor towns of Boeotia (Aulis and Hyrie), then progresses inland, collecting in groups those towns that are in relatively close proximity, and finally circles back to end with the northernmost harbor town of Boeotia (Anthedon), which lies on the border with Locris (*Il.* 2.508):

> Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν.

Anthedon is one of the towns of the Boeotian contingent that has been securely located: both the site and, apparently, the name were used continuously from at least the Mycenaean period through late antiquity.[10] It is its obscure partner Nisa that I wish to explore.

Boeotian Nisa is utterly unknown to this day. The ancient commentators on Homer, eager as they were to recognize Homeric towns in well-known contemporary counterparts, were at a loss when it came to the location of Boeotian Nisa. The 2nd c. B.C. Athenian grammarian Apollodorus, who wrote a treatise on Homer's Catalogue of Ships, despaired that "Nisa is to be found nowhere in Boeotia."[11] This despair has remained unalleviated by philologists, historians, and archaeologists since Apollodorus. Ancient efforts to associate Boeotian Nisa in some way with Megarian Nisaia (Megara's harbor town), Nisa (the presumed earlier name for Megara), or Nisus (Megara's eponomous hero) are based simply on the similarity of the names.[12] Modern proposals to

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[10] For a summary of the archaeological, inscriptional, and literary evidence, see J.M. Fossey (1988) 252–257.

[11] ἡ γὰρ Νῖσα οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται τῆς Βοιωτίας (quoted by Strabo 9.2.14 = *FGrH* 244 F 168).

[12] Strabo (9.2.14), at a loss as to the location of Homeric (Boeotian) Nisa, mentions in passing, in a very lacunose passage, that there was also a Megarian Nisa, whose

actually locate Homeric Nisa in the Megarid rather than in Boeotia, and more specifically in Megara's harbor town Nisaia, are untenable, since Nisaia is far outside the realm of this entry of the Homeric Catalogue.[13] Further modern attempts to associate Nisa with Locrian Larymna and with the traditional site of Boeotian Salganeus are even less tenable.[14] Faced with this state of aporia, some have gone so far as to remove Nisa from the terrestrial landscape altogether and relegate it to the world of myth.[15]

However, there have recently been uncovered the remains of an ancient site in Boeotia, known today as Pyrgos, Palaiometokhi, on the northeast shore of Lake Paralimni, about four miles southwest of

inhabitants had emigrated to the foothills of Mount Cithaeron. Dionysius, son of Calliphon, a 2nd (?) c. A.D. author of a Description of Greece in iambic trimeters, of which 150 lines survive, describes an excursion through the towns of Boeotia (lines 85–102), of which the last mentioned is Nisa (line 102). It is clear from the sequence of towns that precede Nisa that Dionysius is associating it with Megarian Nisaia: i.e., he makes his way through Boeotia from northeast to southwest, the five towns before Nisa (Lebadeia, Okalea, Medeon, Thespia, and Plataea) extending increasingly toward the southwest border. Eustathius (on *Il.* 2.508) remarks on the similarity in the names of Boeotian and Megarian Nisa but clearly differentiates the two, as do all the scholia on the Homeric passage.

[13] Among modern scholars, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1884) 252–253 draws the closest connection between Homeric Nisa and Megara, warning that the generally accepted observation that Megara is unknown in the Homeric Catalogue is false, and claiming that Megara in fact appears as the Nisa of the Boeotian section of the Catalogue; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931) 64–65. K. Hanell (1934) 23–24, 54–55 concurs with Wilamowitz that the Nisa of the Boeotian Catalogue refers to Megara, and he draws on this conclusion to buttress his case for a historical connection between Boeotia and Megara that was closer than that between Attica and Megara. This view is also echoed in V. Burr (1944) 27–28 and B. Mader in *LfgE* sub Νῖσα. A. Fick (1905) 75–76, 111, 121, 130, 139, rather than actually locating Homeric Nisa in Megarian Nisaia, proposes a rather looser relationship between the two, attributing the similarity of their names to a common origin among the non-Greek 'Lelagians.'

[14] The identification of Nisa with Locrian Larymna—so W.A. Oldfather (1916) 44–45—is subject to the same objection as Megarian Nisaia: it is well outside the realm of the Boeotian Catalogue. The identification of Nisa as the traditional site of Salganeus—so, albeit tentatively, P.W. Wallace (1969)—is without any evidence: just the existence of an unaccounted for Neolithic to Mycenaean site near Anthedon. The traditional site of Salganeus is certainly not Isos, as Wallace proposes—(1969) and (1979) 62–63—since Isos was inhabited during the period shortly before Strabo (Apollodorus and other Hellenistic scholars knew Isos, and Strabo himself speaks of traces of the city and calls it a 'very holy spot' [9.2.14]), while the traditional site of Salganeus was abandoned after the Mycenaean period.

[15] So E. Visser (1997) 279–280, who observes that Nisa's epithet ζάθεος is always associated with a cult or a god, and that the name itself is similar to Nysa, the name of a village on the mountain of the Helikonian Muses, and also the name of several towns associated with the god Dionysus.

Anthedon, exactly where one would expect Homeric Nisa to be, given its penultimate position in the Boeotian entry of the Catalogue: i.e., just before 'furthest' Anthedon (Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν). In 1966 an ancient town below the acropolis of Pyrgos was revealed by a considerable drop in the water level of Lake Paralimni owing to the draining of the Copais basin. Archaeological remains suggest habitation of the site from Early Helladic through the Hellenistic periods, including in the vicinity from the Mycenaean period a small section of wall, a large amount of pottery, over thirty small chamber tombs approached by dromoi, and various grave goods.[16]

This site is likely ancient Isos (see Map I),[17] a town reported by Strabo to have been mentioned by several Hellenistic commentators on Homer (οἴονται δέ τινες δεῖν γράφειν Ἶσόν τε ζαθέην…), most notably by Apollodorus in his treatise on the Catalogue of Ships (ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Νεῶν). Ancient Isos is most fully described by Strabo in the ninth book of his *Geographica*, where he notes its proximity to Anthedon (πλησίον δ' ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδόνος) and its especially sacred status (ἱεροπρεπὴς τόπος τῆς Βοιωτίας). His description of mere traces of a town (ἴχνη πόλεως ἔχων) indicates that Isos was already at least partially in ruins by his own time.[18] Eustathius later echoes much of Strabo's description in his commentary on Book 2 of the *Iliad*, mentioning Isos several times by name.[19]

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[16] See the reports of N. Faraklas (1968) and J.M. Fossey (1988) 257–261. For a comparable picture from excavations on the northwest shore of the lake of remarkable continuity from the Bronze to the Archaic age, see Th. G. Spyropoulos (1971), and from around lake Paralimni generally, see Th. G. Spyropoulos (1972) 316 and (1973) 265–266.

[17] First proposed as a possible option, albeit very tentatively and only in an index, by E. Kirsten in A. Philippson (1951) 742, then, again very tentatively, on the basis of his excavations at Pyrgos, by N. Faraklas (1968), soon thereafter reiterated, on the basis of further excavations, by A. Sampson (1973–1974) 448, and then, also on the basis of topography, by R. Hope Simpson (1981) 72–73 and by J.M. Fossey (1988) 260–261 and personal correspondence (2005 and 2006).

[18] Strabo 9.2.14: Πλησίον δ' ἐστὶν Ἀνθηδόνος ἱεροπρεπὴς τόπος τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἴχνη πόλεως ἔχων, ὁ καλούμενος Ἴσος συστέλλοντι τὴν πρώτην συλλαβήν. Οἴονται δέ τινες δεῖν γράφειν "Ἶσόν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν" ἐκτείνοντες τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ποιητικῶς διὰ τὸ μέτρον, ἀντὶ τοῦ "Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην," ἡ γὰρ Νῖσα οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται τῆς Βοιωτίας, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ Νεῶν…

[19] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.508: οἱ δὲ μεθ' Ὅμηρόν φασιν, ὅτι Νῖσα οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται Βοιωτίας. διὸ καὶ γράφουσί τινες "Ἶσόν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τε," ὡς τῆς Ἴσου εὑρισκομένης· τινὲς δὲ "Κρεῦσάν τε ζαθέην," τὴν νῦν Κρέουσαν, ἐπίνειον Θεσπιέων πρὸς τῷ Κρισσαίῳ κόλπῳ· ἄλλοι "Νῦσάν τε ζαθέην"—κώμη δέ ἐστιν Ἑλικῶνος ἡ τοιαύτη Νῦσα—ἕτεροι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ "Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην" ἔγραψαν "Φηράς τε ζαθέας" εἰπόντες, ὅτι τετρακωμία περὶ Τάναγραν· Ἐλεών, Ἅρμα, Μυκαλησσός, Φηραί, ἃς δὴ Φηρὰς ἀντὶ τῆς

The archaeological evidence of the site at Pyrgos accords with Strabo's description of Isos: it is the only ancient site to lie near Anthedon that was inhabited during the Hellenistic period, i.e., in the generations shortly before Strabo's time, but that was also at least partially abandoned by Strabo's time.

We can now take the threads of our evidence and make the final connection: ancient Isos is no other than Homeric Nisa. The location of the site fits the Homeric description precisely, i.e., just before 'furthest' Anthedon (Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν) as the itinerary of the Boeotian entry in the Catalogue circles back to the coast. It is the closest Mycenaean site to Anthedon. The site has yielded ample Mycenaean remains and was then continuously inhabited until the time of Homer, and then afterwards through the Hellenistic period. Perhaps not coincidentally the Homeric epithet for Nisa in the catalogue—'very holy' (Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην)—was appropriate for ancient Isos as well, a place that Strabo calls especially holy (ἱεροπρεπὴς τόπος [9.2.14]), as Eustathius reiterates (τόπος ἐκεῖ ἱεροπρεπής [on *Il.* 2.508]).[20]

In short, Isos meets the archaeological criteria for identification as Homeric Nisa. But perhaps the philologist's lexicon can assist the archaeologist's spade here. Perhaps the supposition of a phonetic deformation of the name of the town—from Isos to Nisa—can finally offer a secure identification for this unknown Homeric site.

Apparently some Homeric scholars in antiquity—Apollodorus being the earliest about whom there is any testimony—thought that the Homeric text at *Il.* 2.508 should in fact read:

> Ἶσόν τε ζαθέην, Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν.[21]

Νίσης ἔθεντο. ὅτι δὲ οὔτε ἐκ ταύτης οὔτε ἐκ τῆς Μεγαρίδος Νισαίας οἱ Νισαῖοι ἵπποι λέγονται, ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ῥηθήσεται. τῆς δὲ ῥηθείσης Ἴσου ἡ ἄρχουσα ἐκτείνεται, φασί, ποιητικῶς, συστέλλει δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ καλούμενος Ἴσος, τόπος ἐκεῖ ἱεροπρεπής.

[20] Given the comments attributed by Strabo to Apollodorus and other Homeric commentators—i.e., that Homeric Nisa = Classical and Hellenistic Isos—it seems likely that the scholiasts on *Il.* 2.508, and later Eustathius, were referring to Classical and Hellenistic Isos when they commented on Homeric Nisa's famous temple to Dionysus: Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ'—Νῖσα Βοιωτίας, οὐ Μεγαρίδος. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Διονύσου ἐπιφανὲς ἱερόν; Νῖσα Βοιωτίας—ἐπιφανὲς ἱερόν (scholia on *Il.* 2.508); Νῖσα δέ ἐστι μὲν καὶ Μεγαρική· ἡ δὲ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Διονύσου ἱερὸν εἶχεν ἐπιφανές (*Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.508).

[21] Strabo 9.2.14 (quoted above).

The received text is:

> Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην, Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν.

These scholars apparently reasoned that since there was no trace of a Nisa in Boeotia Homer must have meant something else: in addition to the well-known town of Isos, they proposed Creusa, Pharae, and Nysa. It is impossible to know whether they actually saw these variants in ancient Homeric manuscripts (or emended their own copies), whether they observed them in earlier commentaries, or whether they were simply throwing out proposals *ex nihilo*. There survives no explanation of the reasoning behind their proposals; they may have simply been suggesting geographically suitable contemporary locations in the face of their bewilderment over the absence of a Nisa in Boeotia.

I believe that these ancient scholars' identification of Homeric Nisa with ancient Isos is fundamentally correct, but they reached their conclusions for the wrong reasons, and they were mistaken that Isos should be read in the Homeric text. Homer himself thought that the name of the Boeotian town was Nisa: that was the form he had inherited embedded in the formulaic diction of the catalogue poetry of the Greek mainland; that was the form as he sang it in the formulaic line at *Il.* 2.508; and that was the form that was transmitted in all the later manuscripts of the *Iliad*. The shape of the toponym had been deformed (metanalyzed) long before Homer, probably by some generations of Ionic bards who had only a vague knowledge of the Greek mainland (i.e., their knowledge of the Greek mainland was drawn mainly from the epic oral tradition, not from their own peregrinations, or from eye-witness accounts).

Let me describe in greater detail what I believe to be the history of the toponym. The modern archaeological site Pyrgos, Palaiometokhi, in Boeotia, known to Strabo as Isos, and to Homer as Nisa, was from at least the Mycenaean period called Isos—from ἶσος—or, to avoid anachronism, Wiswos. Wiswos, like many of the other Boeotian towns in the Homeric Catalogue (Anthedon, Arne, Plataea, etc.), is of Greek origin—i.e., not borrowed from the indigenous language (as many toponyms were). The town perhaps received the name Wiswos (ϝίσϝος—'equal,' 'level,' 'flat') because it looked out over a small plain at the northeast end of Lake Paralimni in an otherwise mountainous region (cf. Homeric ἰσόπεδον). The adjective ἶσος has a long history in the Greek language and is well attested even in the earliest historical periods, though in various linguistic forms. As these linguistic forms

provide a clue to the deformation of Mycenaean Wiswos to Homeric Nisa, let me trace the word's evolution in more detail.

Ἶσος can be traced back to PIE _*H_$_1$_weid-_ or _*H_$_1$_weys-_ (in either case with initial laryngeal).[22] Hence the Mycenaean biforms as attested in the Linear B tablets: _e-wi-su-_ and _wi-so-wo-_.[23] Next, the presumable biforms in dark-age Greece: ἐϝίσϝος and ϝίσϝος. And, finally, the biforms in Homer: ἐῖσος and ἶσος. Both quantities of iota are found in later poetry—ἶσος and ἴσος—the former maintaining in its length traces of its archaic form, but the latter abandoning all traces as the short form becomes the norm in Attic prose and, of course, in the Koine.

'Wiswos,' then, is a well-established Greek word from the earliest period. It is not found elsewhere as a place name, but it is the personal name of two epic heroes: Priam's bastard son at _Il._ 11.101; and a hero killed by Hermioneus in a fragment of the lost Return of the Sons of Atreus (quoted in Athenaeus' _Deipnosophist_ 9.59.3).

The form ϝίσϝος is observed in early inscriptions in the Arcadian, Cretan, and (for our purposes most interestingly) Boeotian dialects. Clearly, then, if my supposition is correct, the name of the Boeotian town during the pre-Homeric dark-age period would have been Ϝίσϝος. I assume that it entered the epic _Kunstsprache_ in this form a few generations before the time of Homer, probably in some of the catalogue poetry for which Boeotia was later to become famous. As the epic tradition migrated over to Asia Minor and became predominately Ionic in dialect the shape of the toponym changed.

As is well known, the digamma had disappeared from the Ionic dialect some time before Homer, first in consonant clusters, then intervocalically, and finally in initial position before a vowel. This final loss of initial digamma occurred not long before the constitution of the Homeric texts: while it is not (and should not be) written in the manuscripts, Homeric prosody nonetheless relies upon its existence to prevent elision, to make position, and to prevent the shortening of a preceding vowel or diphthong. The loss of digamma in the epic _Kunstsprache_, especially initial digamma, markedly affected the prosody and often

[22] A. Blanc in _DELG Supplement_ sub ἶσος for _*H_$_1$_weid-_; C.J. Ruijgh (1987) for _*H_$_1$_weys-_.

[23] _e-wi-su-_ (KN Se 965, Se 1007, Se 1008; PY Va 404, Va 482); _wi-so-wo-_ (PY Sh 740). See J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach (1963) sub ἴσος; J. Chadwick (1973) 330, 348, 378–379, 547; M. Lejeune (1972) 174–175, 211, C.J. Ruijgh (1987) 533–536; _Diccionario Micénico_ sub _e-wi-su-zo-ko_, _e-wi-su-*79–ko_, and _wi-so-wo-pa-na_.

led to the insertion of a grammatically optional stopgap particle (ῥα, τε, γε, κε) or a nu-ephelkystikon to compensate for the loss. As we have seen the clearest and perhaps most notorious example of this in the epic *Kunstsprache* is the adjective νήδυμος, the common epithet for sleep (8x *Iliad*; 4x *Odyssey*; 1x *Hymns*), which has an epic biform ἥδυμος (some Homeric mss. at *Il.* 2.2; *Od.* 4.793, 12.311; Hesiod fr. 330; *Hymn to Hermes* 241, 449). They are of course one and the same word, νήδυμος having been created in a poetic context perhaps not unlike that of *Il.* 2.2—ἔχε (ϝ)ήδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος—when initial digamma (here from an original **sw*-) dropped out of the vernacular and nu-ephelkystikon was introduced—a most fortunate development here, since the introduction of nu-ephelkystikon obviated the hiatus resulting from the loss of digamma. In turn ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος was replaced, through mishearing and metanalysis, by ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος.

A similar evolution can be observed in epic formulations of ἶσος. Agamemnon's attack against Isos, the bastard son of Priam, for example, is formulated in our inherited texts as follows (*Il.* 11.101):

> αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ ῥ᾽ Ἶσόν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐξεναρίξων

The stopgap particle ῥ compensates prosodically for the loss of initial digamma in the name: αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ Ϝίσϝον > αὐτὰρ ὃ βῆ ῥ Ἶσόν. Interesting for our purposes is the temptation in the later manuscript tradition to omit the particle (so Zenodotus) or to metanalyze the formulation in such a way as to deform the personal name: Βήρισον (so Posidippus) or Ῥῆσον (so several late manuscripts).

It is also useful for the sake of analogy to compare what occurs in the evolution of the simple negation (ἀ-, ἀν-) of the adjective ἶσος. Ἄϝισος was the earlier form. The force of the digamma was still felt by Pindar in his verse δαίμων δ᾽ ἄ(ϝ)ισος (*Isthmian* 7.43). But once the force of digamma was no longer felt, the biform ἀν stepped in to cure the resulting hiatus, hence the ubiquitous Classical form ἄνισος.

I suspect that something similar happened in the case of the ancient Boeotian town Ϝίσϝος (later Ϝῖσος). The loss of digamma in the vernacular, and eventually in the epic *Kunstsprache*, resulted in the form Ἶσος; but for reasons of prosody the formulaic phrases in which the toponym was found compensated for the loss of digamma with a metanalysis, or simple insertion, of nu.

We may compare, for example, the formulaic phrase found often in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships—οἵ τ᾽ ἔχον + toponym in the accusative (cf. *Il.* 2.562, 730, 735)—which plausibly occurred in the singular

in a pre-Homeric Boeotian catalogue in combination with the toponym Isos: ὅς τ' ἔχε Ϝῖσον. Once the force of digamma was no longer felt nu-ephelkystikon stepped in to obviate the resulting hiatus: ὅς τ' ἔχεν ᾿Ισον. Subsequent junctural metanalysis resulted in the homophonous ὅς τ' ἔχε Νῖσον.

The formulaic phrases in which toponyms are embedded in the epic diction generally, and in catalogue poetry specifically, lend themselves to such metanalysis with nu: εἰν/ἐν + dative case of toponym; epithet ending in -ν + accusative case of toponym. We may reconstruct a pre-Homeric situation in which, for example, ἐν Ϝίσῳ > εἰν Ἴσῳ > ἐν Νίσῳ. Or, to be more ambitious, οἵ δ' εἶχον ζαθέην Ϝῖσον > οἵ δ' εἶχον ζαθέην ᾿Ισον > οἵ δ' εἶχον ζαθέην Νῖσον.[24] Hence eventually arose the form Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην (*Il.* 2.508), which appears almost unanimously in the Homeric textual tradition, with the exception of Apollodorus' (and others') variant ᾿Ισόν τε ζαθέην.

Finally, by way of analogy, we may adduce the evidence of later Greek (Classical, Medieval, and Modern), in which toponyms are especially prone to metanalysis of nu, primarily owing to the juxtaposition of the definite article. So, as we have seen, τὴν Ἰκαριάν (the island of Icarus) became Νικαριά; τὴν Ἰδά (the area around Mt. Ida) became Νηδά; and τὸν Ἴμβρον (a gorge in Crete) became Νίμβρος.

Two apparent obstacles present themselves to this proposed phonetic development of ᾿Ισος to Νῖσα. First, ancient scholars were troubled by the metrically necessary long vowel length of the first syllable of ᾿Ισος in the reconstructed ᾿Ισόν τε ζαθέην and suggested that Homer took poetic license here for the sake of the meter.[25] In fact, as we have seen, the vowel length turns out not to be an obstacle at all, since ἶσος (from ϝίσϝος) is always long in Homer and only seems anomalous from the perspective of Classical Attic and later Koine prose. Rather, the concern of these Hellenistic scholars about vowel length here suggests that they inherited this reading from even earlier commentaries or manuscripts, i.e., that the reading with ᾿Ισόν τε ζαθέην goes back to a period well

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[24] A host of other possibilities present themselves on the analogy of formulaic constructions found in the Homeric Catalogue: Ἀνθηδών Ϝισός τε; οἵ τ' Ἄρνην Ϝῖσόν τε; οἵ θ' Ὕλην Ϝῖσόν τε, etc. The Homeric text of *Il.* 2.507–8 itself offers a phonetic avenue, albeit between verses: οἵ τε Μίδειαν ‖ ϝῖσόν τε ζαθέην. I am not optimistic that any of these was the actual phonetic avenue for the metanalysis of the toponym, but they nonetheless illustrate the feasibility of such a development.

[25] Strabo 9.2.14: ἐκτείνοντες τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ποιητικῶς διὰ τὸ μέτρον (quoted fully above).

before Apollodorus at least; they would not have invented what they perceived to be a metrically anomalous reading. Second, the change from second to first declension ([N]ῖσος > Νῖσα) may seem untenable on morphological grounds. This is indeed a more serious objection. But we should note that although the declensions of the two forms are different, their gender is the same: like many other second declension toponyms (e.g., Κόρινθος, Ἰαωλκός, Πήδασος) Ἶσος is feminine.[26] Moreover, the declensions of epic toponyms are sometimes ambivalent, the most notorious example being Odysseus' island Samos/Same: Σάμος 4x (*Il.* 2.634; *Od.* 4.671, 845; 15.29); Σάμη 7x (*Od.* 1.246; 9.24; 15.367; 16.123, 249; 19.131; 20.288). The declensions of toponyms, as well as their genders (e.g., Ἴλιον [n.], Ἴλιος [f.]) and numbers (e.g., Θήβη/Θῆβαι, Ἀθήνη/Ἀθῆναι, Μυκήνη/Μυκῆναι), remain unstable through the eons of Greek history, especially when embedded in the fluid oral tradition of Homeric epic.

In sum, the Mycenaean town Wiswos > the Boeotian town Ϝίσϝος (later Ϝῖσος) > the Classical and Hellenistic town Ἶσος. The toponym was reshaped in the Ionic epic tradition, quite in isolation from the vernacular, when the force of digamma was no longer felt and nu replaced it for some reason, perhaps metanalysis, to compensate prosodically for the loss. The innocuous shift in declension, from Νῖσος to Νῖσα, does not seem to be an insurmountable objection to this hypothesis; it is a small price to pay for the reward of discovering not only the Mycenaean site of Homeric Nisa but also its Mycenaean toponym Wiswos.

Ἰθώμη / Θώμη

The third and final section of the Homeric Catalogue of Ships conveys us through the Thessalian plain to areas confirmed by archaeology to be at the northernmost extent of Mycenaean settlement. In the northwest reaches of the plain are the three towns of the Asklepiadai (*Il.* 2.729–30):

> Οἳ δ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν,
> οἵ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×

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[26] Strabo 9.2.14, quoting Apollodorus: Ἶσόν τε ζαθέην (quoted fully above); *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.508: ὡς τῆς Ἴσου εὑρισκομένης; τῆς δὲ ῥηθείσης Ἴσου (quoted fully above).

Trikke is apparently modern Trikkala, located in the middle of the plain, but Ithome and Oikhalia have not been securely located. However, if Homeric Ithome is the same as the Classical Ithome described by Strabo (see below)—and there is no reason to think that it is not—it is probably to be located 11 km northwest of Kardhitsa on the western side of a rocky hill known today as Phanari ('Beacon'), upon which can still be seen the remains of a Byzantine-Turkish fortress (see Map II). The only trace of the ancient (i.e., Archaic and Classical) period are the ashlar blocks of a wall near the northwestern part of the fortification. No evidence of Mycenaean habitation has been found directly on this site, but a Mycenaean tholos tomb has been discovered a few kilometers to the south and Mycenaean cist tombs a few kilometers to the north.[27]

As a toponym for this Thessalian town Ithome is lexically isolated: it occurs only here in Homer, and its only other poetic use is in an imitative hexameter line of the Oracula Sibyllina.[28] The only other references to this site are in the comments of the ancients about this very Homeric verse. There are, of course, as we shall see, numerous references throughout Greek literature, especially among the historians, to the better known Messenian mountain named Ithome, the site of major conflicts during the Archaic and Classical periods between the Spartans and Messenians.

The geographer Strabo quotes this Homeric verse and locates Ithome in upper Thessaly, specifically between four strongholds: Trikke, Metropolis, Pelinnaion, and Gomphoi. But Strabo remarks that this Ithome ought not to be pronounced like Messenian Ithome, but rather without the first syllable (i.e., Thome), for thus, he says, it was called formerly, but now its name has been changed to Ithome (some mss. Thamai—the text is corrupt here) (9.5.17):

> τὴν δ' Ἰθώμην ὁμωνύμως τῇ Μεσσηνιακῇ λεγομένην οὔ φασι δεῖν οὕτως ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ἀφαιρεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖσθαι

[27] See generally *PECS* sub Ithome; for an early 20th century account of the site, including a description of the ancient remains visible at that time, see F. Stählin (1924) 128–130; for an early 19th century description of the ancient remains visible at that time, see the travelogue of W.M. Leake (1835) 509–511; for a synopsis of the history of the site during the Byzantine period, including a description of that period's remains, see J. Koder and F. Hild (1976) 237–238; for an account of the nearby Mycenaean remains, see R. Hope Simpson (1981) 171–174.

[28] Oracula Sibyllina 14.217: Τρίκην Δωδώνην τε καὶ ὑψίδμητον Ἰθώμην.

πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Ἰθώμη (some mss. Θαμαί) μετωνομάσθαι, χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ τῷ ὄντι κλωμακόεν.[29]

Strabo appears to be suggesting an etymological connection between Θώμη (the earlier name of the town) and θωμός ('a heap of rocks'), which would justify its Homeric epithet κλωμακόεσσα ('rocky'). But he does not appear to be simply inventing or perpetuating a folk etymology; rather he seems to be recording on good evidence what he learned from local inhabitants was the earlier name of the town: Thome.[30]

Homeric commentators from as early as Herodian record similar opinions: i.e., that while the Messenian mountain is rightly called Ithome, the Thessalian town, whatever its name (Thome, Thamai, Thoumaion), is to be pronounced without an initial iota.[31]

I propose to take Strabo's assertion seriously: that formerly (πρότερον) the town was called Thome. Thus was it known by its earliest inhabitants. It was only later, perhaps under the influence of the Homeric form Ithome in the Catalogue of Ships, and perhaps also by the familiarity of all Greeks during the Archaic and Classical periods with Messenian Ithome, that Thessalian Thome received its new form.

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[29] Manuscripts *B*, *n*, and *o* read Ἰθώμη; manuscripts *E*, *a*, *g*, *h*, *i*, and *l* read Θαμαί (a nonsensical reading given the context of this passage).

[30] Some support for this conclusion may be drawn from the occurrence of the ethnic Θαμι- mentioned three times on a 3rd c. B.C. inscription from Philia in Thrace: Θαμιαέα (acc. sing.), Θαμίαες (acc. pl.), Θαμι[. See B. Helly (1971).

[31] *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 323 = Περὶ Παθῶν 186, cf. 357 and Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας 524, all quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnica* 329 (in A. Meineke's edition): Ἰθώμη πόλις Θεσσαλίας τῆς Πελασγιώτιδος. Ὅμηρος

οἵ τ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν (B 729).

ἔστι καὶ Μεσσήνης. ἀπὸ Ἰθώμου βασιλέως. καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τόπος τῆς Θεσσαλικῆς Θούμαιον ἀποβολῇ τοῦ ι καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ω εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον Θούμαιον. *Et. Magn.* sub Ἰθώμη: Ἰθώμη· Πόλις. Ὡς τὸ

Ἰθώμην κλιμακόεσσαν.

Θώμη ἡ πόλις· πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ι, Ἰθώμη. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.729: Ἡ δὲ Ἰθώμη—Θετταλικὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη—καλεῖται καὶ Θούμαιον κατὰ τὸν ἀναγραφέα τῶν Ἐθνικῶν, ἀποβολῇ, φησί, τοῦ ι καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ω εἰς τὴν ου δίφθογγον. ἔστι δέ, ὡς προεδηλώθη, καὶ Μεσσηνιακὴ Ἰθώμη. ἐθνικὸν Ἰθωμαῖος καὶ Ἰθωμήτης. τῷ δὲ Γεωγράφῳ ἐμφέρεται, ὅτι τὴν Ἰθώμην ὁμωνύμως τῇ Μεσσηνιακῇ λεγομένην οὔ φασι δεῖν οὕτως ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν ὑφαιρεῖν. νῦν δέ φησιν Θαμαί μετονομασθεῖσαν. χωρίον δέ, φησίν, ἦν ἐρυμνὸν καὶ τῷ ὄντι κλωμακόεν. τῆς δὲ Δημητροπολιτῶν, φησί, χώρας ἦν ἡ Ἰθώμη. καὶ ὅρα, ὅτι τὸ κλωμακόεν ἐπὶ ὀχυροῦ τέθειται τόπου, ἐν ᾧ εἰσι κλώμακες, ὁποίων καὶ ὁ Λυκόφρων μέμνηται, ὅ ἐστι τόποι ἢ λόφοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὑψηλοί. τραχεῖαι δὲ αὗται καὶ πετρώδεις ἀναβάσεις εἰσὶ κατακλῶσαι τοὺς δι' αὐτῶν βαίνοντας. φυλάττεται δὲ ἡ λέξις εἰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀκραιφνής, ἀλλ' ὑποβάρβαρος, περί που τοὺς Παφλαγόνας, οἳ κρωμακωτοὺς τόπους τοὺς πετρώδεις καὶ οὐ ῥᾳον ἀναβαινομένους φασί.

Thome is, after all, an easily recognizable Greek etymon (cf. θωμός 'a heap of rocks'). The earliest surviving attestation of θωμός is not until Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 295), but it must be a very ancient word, since it is derived from the common Indo-European root **dheH$_1$*– ('put': cf. Latin *feci*, Vedic *da-dha-mi*), which is attested in the earliest recorded Greek (Mycenaean *te-ke* PY Ta 711, *po-ro-te-ke* MY Ue 661), and which spawned the ubiquitous Classical Greek forms of the τίθημι family. Moreover, Thome has an etymology that is appropriate to its geography: Homer calls it κλωμακόεσσα 'rocky'; and, if it is in fact to be located on the same site as Archaic and Classical Ithome/Thamai, on the edge of the Pindos range, overlooking the Thessalian plain below, it is indeed, as Strabo remarks, 'a heap of rocks.' Ithome, on the other hand, is lexically isolated, etymologically obscure, and, in fact, probably not even Greek. We should not allow our familiarity with Messenian Ithome to cause us to color the Thessalian town with the same wide brush stroke.

I visualize the evolution of Thome > Ithome as follows. The Mycenaean Greeks of Thessaly called their town Thome, meaning 'a heap of rocks,' because it was located on a rocky precipice overlooking a plain. During the Mycenaean and Dark Age periods the name of this town, like other towns of the region, was included in the catalogue poetry of the flourishing mainland epic tradition. Its name became embedded in the traditional diction of epic verse, very likely in the formulaic phrase Θώμη κλωμακόεσσα (or, to avoid anachronism, Θώμα κλωμακόϝεσσα), which is a flexible enough formula that it can occur in the same metrical position in all four cases (nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative). The formulaic phrase probably became fossilized at verse-end, as in the Homeric Catalogue, i.e.:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / Θώμη κλωμακόεσσα

As it will become important in a moment to my proposal of a junctural metanalysis of the toponym, I note right away that this is a somewhat uncommon shape for a traditional formulaic phrase: i.e., a formula positioned between the third- and fourth-foot diaeresis and verse end is a bit unusual prosodically. And to avoid violating 'Fraenkel's Law,' the verse would require a caesura in the third foot. We should recognize, however, that this shape is not by any means unprecedented; we can compare such formulaic phrases as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν (7x *Il.*)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν (2x *Il.*)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / Ἴμβρου παιπαλοέσσης (2x *Il.*)

I propose, therefore, that a junctural metanalysis occurred in the pre-Homeric oral epic tradition: i.e., one bard sang some such phrase as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἐνὶ Θώμῃ κλωμακόεσσῃ

But it was misunderstood by another as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἐν Ἰθώμῃ κλωμακόεσσῃ

Or we can imagine a junctural metanalysis occurring in a phrase even closer to the form of the verse in the Homeric Catalogue; i.e., one bard sang:

Οἳ δ᾽ εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ θώμην κλωμακόεσσαν

And because of the variable metrical length of the conjunction καί, combined with the final glide represented by the iota of the conjunction, another bard misheard the phrase and perpetuated the toponym in the form in which it was eventually recorded in all our surviving Homeric manuscripts:

Οἳ δ᾽ εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν

The earlier form of the verse must have sounded odd prosodically, and the change to a more familiar form must have been tempting, for at least two reasons. First, verses with spondees in all but the fifth foot are infrequent in Homer (94x), while verses with spondees in all but the third and fifth are common (1061x).[32] Second, as noted above, a diaeresis between the third and fourth foot is somewhat uncommon, while a third-foot trochaic caesura is very common. Just as the *lectio difficilior* is usually the earlier reading in the field of textual criticism, so I propose that the *metrum difficilius* is the earlier form here.

In sum, the original name of the Thessalian town was Thome, which, like many other towns of the area found its way into the popular catalogue poetry of the mainland. During the pre-Homeric stage of the oral epic tradition it became fossilized in the formulaic phrase Θώμη κλωμακόεσσα at the end of the dactylic hexameter line. Thereafter the

[32] Figures are from J. La Roche (1898) 56–59, 64–65.

toponym was metanalyzed into Ἰθώμη κλωμακόεσσα in the manner described above. This was the form Homer, in far off Ionia, inherited through the bardic tradition and transmitted in his Iliadic Catalogue of Ships. For him and his audience this remote Thessalian town was just a name embedded in a formulaic phrase, not a known geographical location. Once the metanalysis occurred, the survival of the metanalyzed form Ithome was assured by analogy with, and in some cases a perceived connection with, the well-known Messenian Ithome, especially through the Archaic and Classical periods.[33] Also, once the *Iliad* was written down, the transcription of the two forms would have been identical, adding further to the confusion, at least in those very early texts in which haplography of geminated vowels, as well as consonants, was the norm: i.e., ΚΑΙΘΟΜΕΝ.[34]

This scenario renders explicable the assertions of Strabo and other Homeric commentators that the Thessalian town used to be/should be/is called not Ithome but Thome (or Thamai or Thoumaion), and, more generally, it illustrates well the potential of junctural metanalysis to reshape obscure toponyms.

Παισός / Ἀπαισός

Among the leaders listed in the Iliadic Catalogue of the Trojans and their Allies (*Il.* 2.816–77) are two brothers Adrestos and Amphios, who are said to rule over Adresteia, Apaisos, Pitueia, and Mt. Tereia, all on the south shore of the Hellespont close to where it meets the Propontis (*Il.* 2.828–34):

> Οἳ δ’ Ἀδρήστειάν τ’ εἶχον καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ
> καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον καὶ Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπύ,
> τῶν ἦρχ’ Ἄδρηστός τε καὶ Ἄμφιος λινοθώρηξ

[33] Later Pausanias even mixes up the two, supposing that Homer was referring to Messenian Ithome in his Catalogue of Ships (4.9.2): ὄρος ἀνοικίζεσθαι τὴν Ἰθώμην. ἦν δὲ καὶ πόλισμα αὐτόθι οὐ μέγα, ὃ καὶ Ὅμηρόν φασιν ἔχειν ἐν καταλόγῳ·
καὶ Ἰθώμην κλιμακόεσσαν (sic)

[34] Some may be tempted to entertain the notion that the ambiguity in the Homeric text alone led to the confusion of the later commentators about the toponym (so E. Visser [1997] 694–695]), and much more remarkably, to the shift in the very name of the town by its Thessalian inhabitants. But it does not seem likely to me that a variant reading in one text, or in a few texts, of Homer would have led to this outcome; rather, the variant texts would over time have been drawn back into the mainstream of the textual tradition.

υἷε δύω Μέροπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων
ᾔδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὓς παῖδας ἔασκε
στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὼ δέ οἱ οὔ τι
πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

Adrestos is presumably related to the eponymous founder of Adresteia, and Amphios is, as we shall see, particularly associated with Apaisos (or Paisos). Their father Merops, from nearby Perkote, foresaw their destruction with his prophetic powers and tried to prevent them from going off to Troy, but all in vain, since the fates of black death led them on.

Merops' prophecy is fulfilled: his two sons are later killed by Diomedes, as described in a sequence of verses that echo those of the Trojan Catalogue (*Il.* 11.328–34):

ἔνθ' ἑλέτην δίφρον τε καὶ ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω,
υἷε δύω Μέροπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων
ᾔδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὓς παῖδας ἔασκε
στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὼ δέ οἱ οὔ τι
πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.
τοὺς μὲν Τυδεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Διομήδης
θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς κεκαδὼν κλυτὰ τεύχ' ἀπηύρα.

So much is clear. But the fate of Adrestos is somewhat opaque in the rest of the *Iliad*: for an Adrestos is captured alive by Menelaus but killed while in a suppliant's pose by Agamemnon in Book 6 (*Il.* 6.37–65), and another Adrestos is killed by Patroklos in Book 16 (*Il.* 16.692–97). In the latter passage the name is simply one of a long list of victims and could refer to a different Trojan ally by the same name, but the extended narration of the pathetic suppliant in the former passage seems to assume the audience's familiarity with his origins, such as would have been gained by his appearance in the Trojan Catalogue. And the confusion over Amphios' fate is even more troublesome, for in Book 5 an Amphios from Paisos, whom fate has driven to come to the aid of Priam, is killed by Telamonian Aias (*Il.* 5.611–26):

στῆ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰών, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ,
καὶ βάλεν Ἄμφιον Σελάγου υἱόν, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ
ναῖε πολυκτήμων πολυλήϊος· ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρα
ἦγ' ἐπικουρήσοντα μετὰ Πρίαμόν τε καὶ υἷας.
τόν ῥα κατὰ ζωστῆρα βάλεν Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,
νειαίρῃ δ' ἐν γαστρὶ πάγη δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,
δούπησεν δὲ πεσών· ὃ δ' ἐπέδραμε φαίδιμος Αἴας
τεύχεα συλήσων· Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν

ὀξέα παμφανόωντα· σάκος δ' ἀνεδέξατο πολλά.
αὐτὰρ ὃ λὰξ προσβὰς ἐκ νεκροῦ χάλκεον ἔγχος
ἐσπάσατ'· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἄλλα δυνήσατο τεύχεα καλὰ
ὤμοιιν ἀφελέσθαι· ἐπείγετο γὰρ βελέεσσι.
δεῖσε δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφίβασιν κρατερὴν Τρώων ἀγερώχων,
οἳ πολλοί τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἔγχε' ἔχοντες,
οἵ ἑ μέγαν περ ἐόντα καὶ ἴφθιμον καὶ ἀγαυὸν
ὦσαν ἀπὸ σφείων· ὃ δὲ χασσάμενος πελεμίχθη.

Such inconcinnities are a feature of oral poetry generally, and discrepancies between the Catalogue and the rest of the *Iliad* are not unusual.[35] In this case Amphios is called the son of Merops in the Catalogue but the son of Selagos in Book 5; he is λινοθώρηξ in the Catalogue but sports a full set of armour in Book 5; and he is associated with Apaisos in the Catalogue but with Paisos in Book 5. Some of these discrepancies may be irresolvable, but we can be fairly confident that Amphios' town of Apaisos in the Catalogue (*Il.* 2.828 δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ) and Paisos in Book 5 (*Il.* 5.611 ἐνὶ Παισῷ) are one and the same.

This brings us to the main question at issue here. What was the actual historic name of this town on the Hellespont: Apaisos or Paisos? Before turning to the external evidence, let me present one piece of internal evidence that points to Paisos as the correct form, at least in the generations following Homer. The formulaic phrases in which the town names are embedded show the way: δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ at *Il.* 2.828 could not easily be emended to Paisos even if a rhapsode during the archaic period or a scribe during the Classical and Hellenistic periods had wished to do so; however, ἐνὶ Παισῷ at *Il.* 5.611 could have easily been emended to ἐν Ἀπαισῷ had the name been known as Apaisos during these periods. In fact, ἐνὶ Παισῷ is universally and stubbornly maintained in all but a very few, very late manuscripts in spite of conditions that presented both the temptation to homogenize it with its form in the Catalogue and an easy recourse for doing so. Internal evidence suggests, then, that Paisos was the actual name of the town

[35] For example: Schedios, one of the leaders of the Phocians, is called son of Iphitos in the Achaean Catalogue (*Il.* 2.517–18) but son of Perimedes in Book 15 (*Il.* 15.515–16); the famous archer Pandaros is said to be from Zeleia, northeast of Troy in the foothills of Mount Ida, in the Trojan Catalogue (*Il.* 2.824–27), but in Book 5 he is twice said to be from Lycia (*Il.* 5.105, 173). There are also contradictions between the Trojan Catalogue and elsewhere in the text regarding the identity of leaders of the Cicones and the Mysians (cf. *Il.* 2.846 and 17.73; 2.858 and 14.511–12). For a review of such inconcinnities in Homer generally, see S. Reece (2005) 56–65.

and that Homer, or more likely one of his bardic predecessors, changed the name to Apaisos.[36]

External evidence supports this: almost all later references to the town denote it as Paisos. The 5th century historian Herodotus relates how in retaliation for the Ionian revolt the Persian commander Daurises sacked the towns along the Hellespont—Dardanos, Abydos, Perkote, Lampsakos, and Paisos—one each day as he made his way north and east (in 498 or 497). From Herodotus' description of the sequence of events that follow, Paisos can be confidently located between Lampsakos (Homeric Pitueia) and Parion (near Homeric Adresteia) (see Map III).[37]

Paisos is also understood as the proper form on the inscriptional remains of the Athenian tribute lists of the 5th century. The town's inhabitants, called the Παισενοί, are listed numerous times between the years 452/1 and 425/4.[38] The epigraphical evidence reveals further that their regular annual tribute was 1000 drachmae, that they failed to make payment in 442 and 441 but began paying again in 440, and that they paid an additional epiphora in the Spring of 434.[39]

The 4th century historian and rhetorician Anaximenes, who knew and wrote about Homer, compiles a catalogue of towns that the Milesians had joined in colonizing and lists the ones in Asia as Abydos, Arisbe, and Paisos. Anaximenes was from nearby Lampsakos and surely knew well how the local inhabitants denoted their own town.[40]

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[36] Some have proposed that Ἀπαισός contains an early Greek prefix or prothetic vowel that later dropped out in pronunciation (so V. Burr [1944] 143), but this is not a normal phonetic environment for prothesis to occur in Greek, and comparisons with ἀσταφίς-σταφίς, ἄσταχυς-στάχυς, etc. are not helpful. Others have suggested that Ἀπαισός contains a very ancient Hattic prefix (so P. Kretschmer [1933a] 86–90; cf. H. Krahe [1939] 186). The evidence for this is tenuous and in any case would not likely have led to the situation we find in Homer: two Greek forms embedded in traditional Greek epic diction. For further objections to these views, see note 45 below.

[37] Herodotus 5.117: Δαυρίσης μὲν τραπόμενος πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλις εἷλε μὲν Δάρδανον, εἷλε δὲ Ἄβυδόν τε καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Λάμψακον καὶ Παισόν. ταύτας μὲν ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ αἵρεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Παισοῦ ἐλαύνοντί οἱ ἐπὶ Πάριον πόλιν ἦλθέ ἀγγελίη... W. Leaf (1923) 98–101 and Plate V confidently locates the citadel of Paisos on a spur that reaches to the sea (Ada Tepe), on the end of which stand the ruins of an abandoned lighthouse (Fanous). The citadel would have looked out over a small plain to the east that is drained by the river Paisos (Bayram Dere).

[38] *ATL* vol. I, 364–365; vol. III, 26, 56.

[39] For further details on the significance of the missed years and the epiphora, see S.K. Eddy (1968) 139 and (1973) 248.

[40] Quoted in Strabo 14.1.6: Ἀναξιμένης γοῦν ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς οὕτω φησίν, ὅτι καὶ Ἴκαρον τὴν νῆσον καὶ Λέρον Μιλήσιοι συνῴκισαν καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν μὲν τῇ Χερρονήσῳ Λίμνας, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἄβυδον, Ἀρίσβαν, Παισόν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Κυζικηνῶν νήσῳ Ἀρτάκην, Κύζικον· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Τρῳάδος Σκῆψιν.

Like Herodotus, the 1st century geographer Strabo locates Paisos between Lampsakos and Parion, mentions that there is a river there by the same name, and calls the town's inhabitants Paisenoi. Strabo records that the city had been destroyed and its inhabitants removed to Lampsakos, a fellow colony of the Milesians. Then, in passing, he cites the two Homeric passages in which the town is mentioned and notes that Homer refers to it in two ways: with 'prosthesis' of a first syllable (so Apaisos) and with 'aphaeresis' of the same (so Paisos).[41]

The 2nd c. A.D. grammarian and Homeric commentator Herodian also observes the biforms in Homer but regards Paisos as the proper form and Apaisos as a 'pleonastic' oddity. He even offers a folk etymology for Paisos: it was where the ship Argo was moored when it was 'struck' (παῖσαι) by a storm.[42] This folk etymology is reiterated later in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and by Eustathius, thereby indicating, albeit indirectly, their opinions about the proper form of the toponym.[43] The impression that Apaisos is a secondary development of Paisos is further conveyed by Herodian's technical vocabulary regarding the accentuation of the two names: that Ἀπαισός is an oxytone inasmuch as it has 'followed the pattern' (ἠκολούθησε) of Παισός.[44]

In sum, the toponym Paisos is mentioned by many and various sources over a long period of time as a name in its own right quite independently of Apaisos, but whenever the toponym Apaisos is mentioned it occurs in conjunction with Paisos, usually as a biform, rather than in its own right. Other than the single instance in Homer, Apaisos occurs only in commentaries and lists of arcane Greek words (Homeric

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[41] Strabo 13.1.19: Ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Λαμψάκου καὶ Παρίου Παισὸς ἦν πόλις καὶ ποταμός· κατέσπασται δ' ἡ πόλις, οἱ δὲ Παισηνοὶ μετῴκησαν εἰς Λάμψακον, Μιλησίων ὄντες ἄποικοι καὶ αὐτοί, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Λαμψακηνοί. ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς εἴρηκεν ἀμφοτέρως, καὶ προσθεὶς τὴν πρώτην συλλαβὴν "καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ," καὶ ἀφελών "ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ ναῖε πολυκτήμων." καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς νῦν οὕτω καλεῖται.

[42] *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 206 = Περὶ Παθῶν 168: Τὰ εἰς σος δισύλλαβα παραληγόμενα διφθόγγῳ ὀξύνεται, ὅτε ἐπιθετικὰ εἴη ἢ ἐπὶ πόλεως κεῖται. Παισός πόλις κατὰ τὴν Τρῳάδα. Ὅμηρος "ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ ναῖε πολυκτήμων" (*Il.* Ε 612), ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ "δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ" (*Il.* Β 828). Παισὸς δὲ εἴρηται παρὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀργὼ προσορμίζουσαν ἐκεῖσε παῖσαι καὶ προσεγγίσαι. Παισός καὶ ἐν πλεονασμῷ τοῦ α Ἀπαισός ὥσπερ Ἄταρνα πόλις καὶ Τάρνα. Ὅμηρος "ὃς ἐκ Τάρνης ἐριβώλακος" (*Il.* Ε 44). ἔστι καὶ Δαυνίας πόλις Παισός κατ' Ἀργύριππα.

[43] *Et. Gen.* sub Ἀπαισοῦ, *Et. Magn.* sub Ἄπαισος; *Eustathius Il.* 5.612.

[44] *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 214: τὸ δὲ Ἀπαισός ἠκολούθησε τῷ ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ (*Il.* Ε 612); *Herodian* Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς Προσῳδίας 38: οὕτως Ἀπαισοῦ ὡς ἀγανοῦ. καὶ ἴσως ἀκολούθως τῷ ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ (*Il.* Ε 612).

scholia, Hesychius, the *Suda*),[45] and these are all clearly attempts to explain the single Homeric usage in the Catalogue.[46]

If the actual name of the town had been Apaisos, it seems impossible that the single instance of the name Paisos in Book 5 of the *Iliad* would have led to the near unanimous adaption of this form. On the other hand, if the name of the town was Paisos, the single instance of Apaisos in Homer would have led precisely to the outcome that we find among later commentators: curiosity about the form, a perceived connection with Paisos, and occasional mention of it in Homeric commentaries and lists of town names.

I conclude, then, that Homer records the proper form of the toponym at *Il.* 5.611 in the formulaic phrase, between bucolic diaeresis and verse end, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ, and a variation of the form of the toponym at *Il.* 2.828 in an equally formulaic phrase, again between bucolic diaeresis and verse end, δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ. As mentioned above, these biforms illustrate a not uncommon type of discrepancy between the Catalogue and the rest of the narrative of the *Iliad*. I propose that one of Homer's bardic predecessors metanalyzed the proper form Paisos into Apaisos and then passed it on in a formulaic phrase embedded in traditional catalogue poetry, whence it eventually ended up in Homer's Catalogue of Trojans and their Allies. Clearly Homer did not invent the Trojan Catalogue *ex nihilo*; the personal and place names of the Trojan Catalogue, like those of the Achaean, must have been passed down through generations of bards long before Homer's composition of the *Iliad*.

There would have been many phonetic avenues in this epic diction for a metanalysis of Παισός > Ἀπαισός: e.g., an alpha could easily have suffered prothesis in such phrases as ἀνὰ Παισόν > ἀν' Ἀπαισόν (cf.

45 Scholia on *Il.* 2.828: Ἀπαισοῦ. Ὄνομα βασιλέως, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις ὠνομάσθη Ἀπαισός; *Hesychius* sub Ἀπαισός· ὄνομα πόλεως (B 828); *Suda* sub Ἀπαισός· ὄνομα πόλεως.

46 This accumulation of evidence belies V. Burr's proposal, (1944) 143, that the town was pronounced one way by the local inhabitants and another way by foreigners. The evidence points in the direction of diachronic development from one form to the other rather than to a state of synchronic biforms. The utter lexical isolation of Ἀπαισός also argues against P. Kretchmer's proposal, (1933) 86–90, that this was its Anatolian form, with a Hattic prefix in A-, for if that were the case one would expect to see the form attested in the Anatolian languages, if not elsewhere in Greek, as are the other examples of such biforms in A- that he marshals as comparative evidence. Similar objections can be raised against the attribution of the toponym to non-Indo-European origin by E.J. Furnée (1972) 368, who compares several toponyms with A/Ø alternations in Iran and Asia Minor.

Il. 9.395 ἀν᾽ Ἑλλάδα) or κατὰ Παισόν > κατ᾽ Ἀπαισόν (cf. *Il.* 11.770 κατ᾽ Ἀχαιίδα). But perhaps the most likely phonetic avenue was what must have been a fairly common formula that occurs in the same metrical position as both instances of Apaisos/Paisos, i.e., between the bucolic diaeresis and verse end: i.e., τείχεα + genitive of toponym (as τείχεα Θήβης *Il.* 2.691; 4.378). The formulaic expression at verse end τείχεα Παισοῦ may have been misheard as τείχε᾽ Ἀπαισοῦ, which, once established in catalogue poetry, provided the analogy for what we find occupying this metrical space in the Homeric Catalogue: δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ. Thus the curious history of the linguistically isolated toponym Ἀπαισός.

In the following chapters that make up the second part of this work we will put aside the categories that have defined our treatment so far—movable and final consonants, elided vowels, toponyms—to concentrate on some individual words and formulas that are of broader interest and so deserve correspondingly greater consideration. Among these are two ethnics that have much in common with the toponyms treated in this chapter: Ἄβιοι, the name of a Thracian tribe, which appears to be a metanalysis of Γάβιοι (understood as γ᾽ Ἄβιοι); and Σελλοί, the name of Zeus' priests at Dodona, which appears to be a metanalysis of the epic phrase σ᾽ Ἑλλοί.

PART TWO

INDIVIDUAL CASES OF JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS

CHAPTER NINE

AN HOMERIC PROBLEM / AN AESCHYLEAN SOLUTION ἌΒΙΟΙ / ΓΆΒΙΟΙ

At the beginning of Book 13 of the *Iliad* Zeus turns his eyes away from the bloody slaughter on the battlefield, where the Trojans are furiously attacking the ships of the Achaeans, and instead directs his gaze far off toward the north and east, looking out over the lands of the horse-herding Threikes, the close-fighting Mysoi, and then—apparently further and further away, both geographically (ethnically) and morally (ethically) the noble, milk-drinking Hippemolgoi and the justest of men, the Abioi (*Il.* 13.4–6):

> νόσφιν ἐφ' ἱπποπόλων Θρῃκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν
> Μυσῶν τ' ἀγχεμάχων καὶ ἀγαυῶν Ἱππημολγῶν
> γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων.

The Threikes and Mysoi are well known historically. The Hippemolgoi are apparently a Scythian tribe; Hesiod, in his fragmentary *Catalogue of Women* 150.15, mentions Σκύθας ἱππημολγούς—'the Scythian drinkers of mare-milk.' But the Abioi are a mystery. The word is a *hapax legomenon* in Homer, and (as a proper noun) all that have survived of its later occurrences appear to have been inspired by this very Homeric passage.[1]

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[1] Almost all later references to the Ἄβιοι occur in commentaries on *Il.* 13.6, or they are embedded in looser allusions to this Homeric passage: Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 42), Philostephanus (according to Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* 7 [in A. Meineke's edition]), Aristarchus (according to the scholia on *Il.* 13.6), Apollodorus fr. 159, Alexander Polyhistor (according to Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* 6 [in A. Meineke's edition]), Posidonius (*FGrH* 87 F 104), Nicolaus fr. 123, Apion fr. 4, *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 174, *Hesychius* sub ἄβιοι, Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* 6–7 (in A. Meineke's edition), Photius *Lexicon* sub Ἄβιος, *Et. Gen.* sub Ἀβίων, *Et. Sym.* sub Ἀβίων, *Et. Magn.* sub Ἀβίων, *Eustathius* on *Il.* 13.6, etc.

Even those references that are primarily concerned with the Ἄβιοι as a real historic tribe appear to be drawing the name, at least, and usually some of the tribe's attributes as well, whether directly or indirectly, from Homer: Diophantus (according to Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* 6 [in A. Meineke's edition]), Arrian (according to *Eustathius* on *Il.* 13.6), Claudius Ptolemaeus *Geographia* 6.15.3, Philostratus *Heroicus* 688 (in G. Olearius' edition), Epiphanius *Panarion* III 512 (in K. Holl's edition).

Homer seems to derive the name from alpha-privative plus βία, i.e., 'without violence,' rather than βίος ('without a livelihood') or βιός ('without a bow'), for he glosses it δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων 'justest of men.' That there is a *schema etymologicum* preceding in the collocation of Ἱππημολγῶν and γλακτοφάγων should incline us toward the view that δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων too is a gloss. And the overall contrast that Homer is drawing between the unceasing toil and violence of the Trojans and Achaeans fighting by the ships and the comparative utopia of the noble Hippemolgoi and just Abioi of the north and east lends further support to the view that Homer is engaging in etymological word play here—that he intends Ἄβιοι to be understood as 'those who are without violence.' Zeus' eyes are seeking a respite from the violence of battle as they gaze further and further afield.

Two and a half centuries after Homer, Aeschylus makes a cryptic reference to a similar sounding tribe (fr. 196—a quotation attributed to Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* by Stephanus of Byzantium in his *Ethnica*).[2] Here Prometheus is instructing Heracles about the details of his itinerary:

> ἔπειτα δ' ἥξεις δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον
> ‹βροτῶν› ἁπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον,
> Γαβίους, ἵν' οὔτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος
> τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν, ἀλλ' αὐτοσπόροι
> γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον βροτοῖς.

> Then you will come to a tribe, the most just
> of all <mortals>, and the most hospitable,
> the *Gabioi*, where neither the plow nor the earth-cutting mattock
> plows the land, but rather the self-sown
> fields bear a bounteous livelihood for mortals.

Aeschylus' Γάβιοι, 'the most just and most hospitable tribe of men,' are apparently the same as Homer's Ἄβιοι. The two descriptions are remarkably similar, and both poets place them in the same geographical region (to the far north and east).[3] This was certainly the consensus

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[2] *Ethnica* 7 (in A. Meineke's edition). The question of Aeschylean authorship of *Prometheus Unbound*, and by extension of the entire Prometheus trilogy, cannot in my opinion be answered with any measure of confidence. As the question of authorship is of little relevance to the present discussion, my use of the conventional terms 'Aeschylus' and 'Aeschylean' is not a commitment to Aeschylean authorship. For two contrary views on authorship, see C.J. Herington (1970) and M. Griffith (1977).

[3] Cf. Aeschylus fr. 198, apparently from this same tragedy, which mentions the well-ordered Scythians, eaters of mare's-milk cheese (ἀλλ' ἱππάκης βρωτῆρες εὔνομοι

among the ancient commentators—both of Homer and Aeschylus—who unanimously equate the Ἄβιοι and Γάβιοι as designations of the same Scythian tribe.[4]

How, then, can we account for the remarkable difference in form (῎Αβιοι/Γάβιοι)? This is not a simple spelling error, nor is this a common type of biform. Whence the mysterious gamma in Aeschylus? Or the lack thereof in Homer? Two explanations present themselves: Aeschylus derived his notion of the tribe from Homer—from this very passage in Book 13 of the *Iliad*—and for some inexplicable reason added the gamma to Ἄβιοι; Homer dropped the gamma from Γάβιοι, the name of a tribe known to Aeschylus from a source other than Homer in its correct and original form.

The former is the usual explanation offered by modern commentators on these texts—e.g., Richard Janko on *Il.* 13.4–7; Mark Griffith on Aeschylus fr. 196—who accept without hesitation a line of influence from the more ancient to the less ancient author and refer without elaboration to a 'mysterious' or 'unclear' addition of Γ- by Aeschylus.[5] But further reflection reveals the latter explanation as the more probable. It is unlikely that Aeschylus is deriving his notion of the tribe exclusively from Homer. This passage is the only reference to the tribe in Homer, and here Homer clearly intended not Γάβιοι but Ἄβιοι (i.e., ἀ + βία), as the gloss δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων strongly suggests. Simply stated, there is no phonetic, morphological, or semantic motivation for Aeschylus

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Σκύθαι). And from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, note the remarkably similar description of the Scythians (707–11):

πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθένδ' ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
στρέψασα σαυτὴν στεῖχ' ἀνηρότους γύας·
Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξῃ νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας
πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις,
ἑκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι·

Herodotus (4.23) describes a Scythian tribe, which he calls the Argippaioi, against whom no one does injustice, since they are holy, nor do they make use of arms, but go around settling disputes, and they grant asylum to refugees. Pindar too refers, though more vaguely, to the Hyperboreans, who live an idyllic life without toil and war and disease and old age (*Pythian* 10.41–44).

[4] So scholia on *Il.* 13.6, *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 174, Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica* 6–7 (in A. Meineke's edition), and *Eustathius* on *Il.* 13.6.

[5] *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 13.4–7: "Aeschylus' Gabioi (fr. 196), a δῆμος ἐνδικώτατος with a Utopian lifestyle and a mysterious *G*-, are based on Homer." M. Griffith (1983) 298–299: "Why the Abii should have become Gabii is unclear." Cf. A.B. Bosworth (1995) 13–15: "Much earlier Aeschylus had taken the Abii [of Homer] as a people—the model for the blissful 'Gabii' of the *Prometheus Unbound*."

to understand Ἄβιοι as Γάβιοι in this Homeric passage.[6] Aeschylus, then, is deriving his Γάβιοι from elsewhere, perhaps even from the considerable corpus of 'Homeric' and epic verse that was known to him but is now lost to us: an *Aethiopis*, perhaps, or the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas of Proconnesus.[7]

It is Homer, then, or perhaps one of his bardic predecessors, who has transformed the Γάβιοι into Ἄβιοι. There was a semantic motivation for this: Homer's penchant for finding etymological significance in proper names (e.g., Hektor, Astyanax, Peleus, Phthia, Achilles, Damasos, Odysseus). Homer had only a vague notion of these tribes to the far north and east; they were simply names that he had heard recited in epic song, perhaps in catalogues of exotic tribes. The foreign ethnic Γάβιοι conveyed no meaning to him, so it was tempting to hear, or (mis)hear, it as the semantically and etymologically appropriate Ἄβιοι.

Moreover, there was probably a complementary phonetic motivation for the change: Homer, or an earlier epic poet, may have understood an epic utterance of Γάβιοι as the collocation γ' Ἄβιοι, with the enclitic particle γε/γ', perhaps even in a verse similar to what survives in *Il.* 13.6: i.e., γλακτοφάγων Γαβίων was understood as γλακτοφάγων γ' Ἀβίων. In this hypothetical model the adjective γλακτοφάγων would have modified Γαβίων, and the common appearance of the particle γε/γ' between an adjective and the noun it modifies in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* (e.g., *Il.* 4.43, 5.303, 8.450, 9.108, 12.166, 13.287, 20.286, 22.498; *Od.* 14.81, 22.215, 231) would have contributed to its being

[6] A solution proposed two-hundred years ago by L.C. Valckenaer (1810) II 36—that an original Ϝάβιοι in Homer was misread by Aeschylus as Γάβιοι—offers a hypothetical phonetic and morphological motive for the change. But this proposal is incredible, for there is no trace of digamma in the etymology of Ἄβιοι, and even if there were historically, Homer did not perceive one here, since Ϝάβιοι would not have spawned the etymological word-play of the passage (which relies on understanding the name as derived from alpha-privative plus βία ['without violence']), and, in any event, even if a digamma had existed earlier, Aeschylus, if he indeed had access to a text of Homer and read it, would not have seen a digamma in a 5th century Athenian edition.

On the level of semantics, it is just barely conceivable that Aeschylus is playing around with his own folk-etymology for the foreign name: Γαβίους, ἵν' οὔτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν, ἀλλ' αὐτοσπόροι γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον βροτοῖς (i.e., the Γά-βιοι are those to whom the 'earth' gives a 'livelihood'). But it seems unlikely to me, in the absence of any phonetic motivation, that Aeschylus would have made the difficult change from an etymologically clear Ἄβιοι to a harder to construe Γάβιοι simply for the purpose of a rather strained pun.

[7] On Aeschylus' apparent knowledge of Aristeas' *Arimaspea*, see J.D.P. Bolton (1962) 45–70.

misheard as γλακτοφάγων γ' Ἀβίων. The ubiquitous particle γε/γ' (1044 times in Homer) may have played a role in other such metanalyses in pre-Homeric epic: the mysterious stereotyped formula πτολέμοιο γεφύρας 'bridges of war,' for example, may have had its origin in a metanalysis of πτολέμοιό γ' ἐφύρας 'siegeworks of war,' as we shall see in a later chapter.

So here, in the passage recorded in Book 13 of the *Iliad*, the temptation to metanalyze the foreign name Γάβιοι on phonetic grounds (Γάβιοι > γ' Ἄβιοι) worked side by side with the semantic motivation (Homer's fondness of 'folk etymologies'—especially in proper names) to inspire the epic, perhaps Homeric, coinage Ἄβιοι. In short, we appear to have had it backwards all along, having been led astray, as we often are, by our tendency to give priority to readings in those texts that happen to survive from an earlier period. But Aeschylus, though later, is not dependent on Homer here. Rather, Homer and Aeschylus are dependent on a common source. And it is Aeschylus who has retained the earlier and original form, while Homer has modified it to suit his purposes.[8]

[8] Much of my work on this chapter took place while I was a summer fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC. I wish to thank Professor Mary DePew for directing the program. An earlier version of this chapter appeared in the *American Journal of Philology* (see S. Reece [2001b]).

CHAPTER TEN

WHENCE THE SELLOI OF DODONA? ΣΕΛΛΟΊ / ἙΛΛΟΊ

Introduction

At a major turning point in the plot of the *Iliad* (16.220–56) Achilles offers a prayer to Zeus of Dodona that his comrade Patroclus achieve both success in battle and a safe return to the ships; as events unfold, Zeus leaves the prayer only half answered. It is a scene full of pathos, and Achilles' prayer is appropriately formal and ritualistic, beginning with a somber invocation (16.233–35):

> Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικὲ τηλόθι ναίων
> Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
> σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι

As H.W. Parke observes in the introduction to his comparative study of the oracles of Zeus, this is the first appearance of the oracle of Dodona in a Greek author, and the meanings of many of the words in Achilles' prayer were as obscure and puzzling to the Greek readers of the Classical and Hellenistic periods as they are to modern readers.[1] Ancient commentators raised questions about: ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, δυσχειμέρου, Σελλοί, ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτόποδες, and χαμαιεῦναι. The modern disciplines of philology and anthropology have yielded some answers, but many questions remain, foremost those concerning the Σελλοί. Who are these strange dwellers of Dodona, who sleep on the ground with unwashed feet and serve as the interpreters of Zeus? They seem like fossils from the hoary past.

Ancient readers of the passage could not even agree on the proper form of their name. It is reported in various ancient sources that some early commentators on the Homeric text understood the collocation of words differently—as ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοί instead of ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοί: so, for example, the A and T scholia.[2] And some modern editions and

[1] H.W. Parke (1967) 1.

[2] The A scholia on *Il.* 2.659, 16.234; T scholia on *Il.* 16.234; cf. *Et. Magn.* sub Σελλοί.

commentaries have followed suit: Leaf's edition of the *Iliad*, for example, actually prints Ἑλλοί, and the recent Cambridge commentary assumes it in this passage.[3] I believe that each form is correct in its own way: Homer meant Σελλοί, and that is what we should read in our texts of this passage, but the actual historic name of the tribe was Ἑλλοί, a very ancient name of which Homeric Ἑλλάς, Ἕλληνες, etc.—as well as non-Homeric Ἕλλην, Ἑλλοπίη, etc.—are cognate.[4] During the oral period of epic transmission one of Homer's bardic predecessors misheard a formulaic expression in which the name was embedded and metanalyzed Ἑλλοί as Σελλοί, whereafter the word was passed down through the ages and took on a life of its own, not just in epic diction but also in myth and folktale, in historical and philosophical texts, as well as in other genres of literature.

Internal Evidence

Let us consider the internal evidence first, before moving on to the external. The internal evidence is not decisive, but I believe that it favors Σελλοί as the reading in this Homeric passage. Perhaps some slight support for Ἑλλοί can be drawn from a distinction, first recorded in

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[3] *Leaf, Iliad* on 16.234; *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 16.234.

[4] So A. Lesky (1928) esp. 53–54, 115–129, who reconstructs an early cult at Dodona that conjoined in holy marriage (ἵερος γάμος) a sky-god associated with the double-axe and an earth-goddess associated with the tree, whose memories survive in the figures of Ἑλλός, the woodsman and mythical cult founder of Dodona, and Ἑλλῶτις, an epithet of Athena in Corinth and of Europa in Crete. In support of the form Ἑλλοί in *Il.* 16.234 Lesky marshals a network of cognates associated in some way with Dodona: ancient Ἑλλάς, which Aristotle locates around Dodona, along with its inhabitants the Ἕλληνες and their eponymous ancestor Ἕλλην; Ἑλλοπίη, which Hesiod locates near Dodona, along with its presumed inhabitants the *Ἕλλοπες; and Ἑλλά, which Hesychius calls the temple of Zeus at Dodona. If one is willing to wander beyond Dodona, there are of course a number of other cognates: e.g., Ἑλλήσποντος, the strait between the Euxine and Aegean, and its eponymous heroine Ἕλλη, who fell in while riding on a flying ram with a golden fleece; Ἑλλωτία, a festival of Athena at Corinth; and of course a myriad of derivatives in Ἑλλην-, Ἑλληνο-, Ἑλλαν-, Ἑλλανο-, Ἑλλαδ-, as well as various other compounds like Πανέλληνες, Φιλέλλην, etc. The depth and breadth of these cognates render unlikely the view that Ἑλλοί is simply a modernization of an older Greek form Σελλοί (so, e.g., G. Restelli [1970ab]), which alone of all these cognates would have had to survive a sound shift that occurred in greatest antiquity. They also stack up formidably against the attempts to find cognates of Σελλοί in other Indo-European languages (Gothic *saljan* 'to sacrifice'; Latin *solum* 'earth' [hence ἀνιπτόποδες and χαμαιεῦναι]—so *GEW* sub Σελλοί), and even more so against attempts to find cognates in Semitic languages (NW Semitic *š'l* 'to ask or interrogate'—so M. Delcor [1972] 31–32).

the T scholia on the Homeric passage but also observed by some modern scholars, that ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοί conveys the notion that the priests dwell around Dodona generally, while ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοὶ specifies that they dwell within the sacred precinct of Zeus.[5] This seems much too subtle, however, and I do not think that such a fine distinction between Dodona and the sacred precinct would have been drawn in the time of Homer.[6]

On the other hand, there are some rather serious objections to Ἑλλοί, the first being its "unwelcome insistence on the second person."[7] The phrase ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοὶ ‖ σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται…, with two forms of the second person pronoun in the same clause, the first an accusative object of the preposition, and the second, presumably, a dative of interest, is unparalleled in Homer. It is an awkward expression in any event. And it is only slightly less awkward if one understands σοί as a second person possessive adjective rather than as a pronoun.[8]

A second objection to Ἑλλοί is the manner in which the very common Homeric verb ναίω is used. The verb appears in a wide array of constructions in Homer, the most frequent being with a simple accusative object (41x) and with the preposition ἐν plus dative (15x). But not once does it appear, as in ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοὶ ‖ σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται…, with only the simple preposition ἀμφί plus accusative.[9]

In favor of ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ ‖ σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται…, on the other hand, with ἀμφί used adverbially with ναίω, is the precise parallel at *Od.* 9.22–23:

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[5] T scholia on *Il.* 16.234: ἐὰν δὲ εἴπωμεν Σελλοί, ἔσονται περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Δωδώνην οἰκοῦντες, οὐ περὶ τὸ τέμενος τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ βέλτιον· ἐν Δωδώνῃ γὰρ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ διαδοχήν. κοινὸν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι Ἕλλησι τὸ ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν. σημειωτέον ὅτι ἄνδρας φησὶν αὐτόθι προφητεύειν. Bölte (*RE* VIII sub Helloi) draws on this distinction to support his preference for Ἑλλοί in Homer.

[6] So Ziehen (*RE* Supplement V sub Σελλοί) in response to Bölte (*RE* VIII sub Helloi).

[7] So M.L. West (2001) 237.

[8] Few Homeric commentators explicitly render a judgment here, and those who do are split on the issue of how to understand the syntax. *Leaf, Iliad* (on 16.234–35), for example, favors an adjective, while *Monro, Iliad Commentary* (on 16.234–35) prefers a pronoun.

[9] In the two instances in Homer where the verb does occur with prepositional ἀμφί plus accusative the meaning is filled out by an additional construction: at *Il.* 2.854 by the common accusative object δώματα (ἀμφί τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον); at *Od.* 3.292 by the adverb ἧχι (ἧχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα); cf. *H.Ap.* 335–36, where it is accompanied by the preposition ὑπό plus dative (Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες ‖ Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἐξ ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε).

Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι
πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλῃσι

And further support can be drawn from the eighteen other instances in which ναίω is accompanied by an adverbial expression in Homer: with ἐν δέ (2x), ἔνθα δ' ἐνί (1x), ἔνθα (8x), ἐνθάδε (2x), ἐγγύθι (1x), τηλόθι (2x), τόθι (1x), and πολύ (1x).

The internal evidence is not decisive, and we should not push it too far, but, simply put, ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοὶ σοὶ ναίουσ'...is an awkward expression that is unparalleled in Homer, while ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ σοὶ ναίουσ'...is typically Homeric in every respect. I favor the latter as Homer's expression in this passage. Whether or not Homer correctly transmitted the actual historic name of this tribe, however, is quite another matter, as we shall see.

External Evidence

External evidence supports the internal, but neither is it altogether unambiguous. All surviving manuscripts of the *Iliad* read Σελλοί. This unanimity is notable; yet, we should be cautious about relying too heavily on it, since the earliest extant manuscript to include this passage is quite late: the 6th c. A.D. Pap. 9, the so-called 'Syriac Palimpsest' (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 17210).[10]

The testimony of ancient grammarians and Homeric commentators about manuscripts available to them takes the evidence back further, but it too is rather ambiguous. Most of the ancient commentators on *Il.* 16.234 support the reading Σελλοί. The A scholia report the opinions of Aristonicus, who is presumably drawing on Aristarchus:

[10] Another (earlier) papyrus manuscript includes *Il.* 16.234, but its reading on Σελλοί is not reported in *Allen*, *Iliad*, *M.L. West*, *Iliad*, etc.: Pap. 60, or 'P. Morgan' (Pack 2 870, saec. iii–iv p.C.), was published by description and collation by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and G. Plaumann (1912), the introduction (pp. 1198–1202) by Wilamowitz, the detailed description and collation (pp. 1202–1219) by Plaumann. It is a papyrus codex with numbered pages containing portions of Books 11 to 16 of the *Iliad*. The papyrus itself resides in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Ilias papyrus G.202). The papyrus is very dark, in a poor hand, and difficult to read, but Professor Roger Bagnall of Columbia University has kindly examined the papyrus for me and reports that the manuscript apparently reads Σελλοί at *Il.* 16.234, since the sigma, though barely visible, is ligatured to the following epsilon, and since there is no trace of an apostrophe or any other mark, nor a place between letters where it could be.

> καὶ ὅτι σὺν τῷ ς Σελλήεντα τὸν ποταμὸν λέγει, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸ παροικοῦν ἔθνος Σελλοὺς καλεῖ (sc. Π 234) (A scholia on *Il.* 2.659); δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Σελλήεντος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ Σελλοὶ οἱ περίοικοι (A scholia on *Il.* 15.531); ἡ διπλῆ πρὸς τὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἀμφίβολον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σελλούς, οἱ δὲ Ἑλλοὺς ἐξεδέξαντο. δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ πλήρους Σελλοί· καὶ γὰρ ὁ συνορίζων τοῖς τόποις ποταμὸς Σελλήεις, ἀφ᾽ οὗ εἰκὸς τοὺς παροίκους Σελλοὺς καλεῖσθαι (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234).

Aristarchus' student Apollodorus concurs (according to the testimony of Strabo 7.7.10): Τὸν μέντοι ποιητὴν οὐ λέγειν Ἑλλοὺς, ἀλλὰ Σελλοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν. So also Apollonius Sophista, Strabo, Pseudo-Nonnus, the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and Eustathius.[11]

But at least some resist the mainstream scholarly tradition and support instead the reading Ἑλλοί, or at least record, even in disagreement, that there existed Homeric manuscripts that read Ἑλλοί:

> Σελλοί· "Ἑλλοί," ἀπὸ Ἕλλου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ. οὕτω δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ οἱ παλαιοί (T scholia on *Il.* 16.234); οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Ἑλλοὺς λέγουσι πλανηθέντες (A scholia on *Il.* 2.659); Σελλοί· πρὸς τὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἀμφίβολον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σελλούς, οἱ δὲ Ἑλλοὺς ἐξεδέξαντο (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234).

So also the *Etymologicum Magnum*.[12]

Some ancient commentators remain uncommitted to a single form; Herodian, for example, seems to think that both are legitimate:

> ἐλέγετο καὶ ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην χώρα Ἐλλοπία, ἧς οἱ οἰκήτορες Ἑλλοί καὶ Σελλοί; Ἑλλοί οἱ οἰκήτορες τῆς περὶ Δωδώνην χώρας Ἐλλοπίας καὶ Σελλοί; Ἑλλός ἢ Σελλός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοι.[13]

Likewise Hesychius, who in his Lexicon records one form under Σ and another under E:

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[11] Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 141 (in I. Bekker's edition): Σελλήεις ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίᾳ, ὅθεν τὸ ἔθνος Σελλοί. Strabo 7.7.10: πότερον δὲ χρὴ λέγειν Ἑλλούς, ὡς Πίνδαρος, ἢ Σελλούς, ὡς ὑπονοοῦσι παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ κεῖσθαι, ἡ γραφὴ ἀμφίβολος οὖσα οὐκ ἐᾷ διισχυρίζεσθαι (cf. 1.2.20, where Strabo simply assumes that Homer intended Σελλοί). Pseudo-Nonnus *Scholia Mythologica* 4.20: Παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ Σελλοὶ ἔθνος Δωδωναίων. *Et. Magn.* sub Σελλοί: Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑλλοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξεδέξαντο, ὡς Πίνδαρος· δεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σ ἄρχεσθαι τὴν λέξιν Σελλοὺς, ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος ποταμοῦ. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.848: Ἔστι δέ τις μνεία Παιόνων καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σελλῶν.

[12] *Et. Magn.* sub Σελλοί (quoted in preceding note).

[13] The three quotations are from *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 288, Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας 506, and Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς Προσῳδίας 101.

> Σελλήεις· ποταμὸς Θεσπρωτίας, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος Σελλοί, καὶ ἄλλο(ς) τῆς Τρωάδος. οἱ δὲ ἀναγινώσκοντες κατὰ συναλοιφὴν ἀμφὶ δέ σ᾽ Ἑλλοί; Ἑλλοί· Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς (Π 234 v. l).

So also Stephanus.[14]

In weighing the evidence of this ancient controversy over Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί we should keep in mind that the issue is not one of textual variants in the normal sense; the earliest commentators on the earliest texts would not have been witnesses to textual variants, *per se*, but were simply making different decisions about where the words of a commonly agreed-upon text should be divided. As happened not infrequently in these ancient texts, the word division was obscured by the majuscular and continuous script: i.e., ΑΜΦΙΔΕΣΣΕΛΛΟΙ.[15] Therefore, when ancient commentators and grammarians and lexicographers differed in their division of the words of the Homeric text, they were basing their opinions on considerations other than the texts of the manuscripts themselves: on the rich historical and mythic traditions about the ancient oracle at Dodona, on various folk etymologies, and on the use of Σελλοί and Ἑλλοί by authors other than Homer. To these we now turn.

As we have seen, those who favored Σελλοί at *Il.* 16.234 often championed its association with a Selleeis river—or rather rivers—mentioned by Homer at *Il.* 2.659, 2.839, 12.97, and 15.531. The first passage may indeed refer to a Selleeis river in Thesprotia, but the second and third refer to one near Arisbe in the Troad, and the fourth appears to refer to one in Elis (i.e., the Ladon river). Selleeis was a common name for a river—there was apparently yet another near Corinth (scholia on *Il.* 2.659 and 15.531)—and it is more important for our purpose of reconstructing how the ancients understood the reading of *Il.* 16.234 that some of them perceived an association between a Thesprotian Selleeis and the Σελλοί than that such a river actually existed there.[16]

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[14] Stephanus *Ethnica* 561 (in A. Meineke's edition): Σελλοί, οἱ Δωδωναῖοι. "ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ σοὶ ναίουσ᾽ ὑποφῆται." λέγεται καὶ δίχα τοῦ σ Ἐλλοί.

[15] Or ΑΜΦΙΔΕΣΕΛΟΙ during the period in which haplography of geminated consonants was the normal practice. One might suspect that the *scriptio plena* of these ancient texts, i.e., the practice of writing out elided vowels in full, played a part in the obscurity of this passage, but it probably did not, since its results would likely have been counteracted here by the early practice of haplography of geminated vowels. Hence, even if an editor or scribe had intended to convey the reading ἀμφὶ δὲ σ᾽ Ἑλλοί, the collocation ΑΜΦΙΔΕΣΕΕΛ(Λ)ΟΙ, which would have clarified his intentions, would not have been a practical option.

[16] The locations of the many rivers named Selleeis, and the towns named Ephyra

Aristonicus, who is presumably drawing upon Aristarchus, declares repeatedly that the ethnic Σελλοί was derived from the Thesprotian river Σελλήεις:

> τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ‹ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος›· ὅτι ἡ Ἔφυρα αὕτη ἑτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς Κορίνθου, τῆς Θεσπρωτίας οὖσα· καὶ ὅτι σὺν τῷ ς Σελλήεντα τὸν ποταμὸν λέγει, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ παροικοῦν ἔθνος Σελλοὺς καλεῖ (sc. Π 234) (A scholia on *Il.* 2.659); ἤγαγεν ἐξ Ἐφύρης, ‹ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος›· ὅτι τῆς Θεσπρωτιακῆς Ἐφύρας λέγει, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Σελλήεντος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Σελλοὶ οἱ περίοικοι. καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' Ἀσίῳ ἕτερός ἐστι Σελλήεις ποταμός (cf. B 838–39, M 96–97) (A scholia on *Il.* 15.531); δεῖ δὲ νοεῖν ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ πλήρους Σελλοί· καὶ γὰρ ὁ συνορίζων τοῖς τόποις ποταμὸς Σελλήεις, ἀφ' οὗ εἰκὸς τοὺς παροίκους Σελλοὺς καλεῖσθαι (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234).

Apollodorus too—according to the testimony of Strabo 7.7.10—makes the connection between the ethnic and the river, albeit more loosely:

> τὸν μέντοι ποιητὴν [οὐχ] οὕτω λέγειν Ἑλλοὺς ἀλλὰ Σελλοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, προσθεὶς ὅτι καὶ Σελλήεντα τινὰ ὀνομάζει ποταμόν. ὀνομάζει μὲν οὖν, ὅταν φῇ "τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος."

So also Apollonius Sophista, Hesychius, Eustathius, and the *Etymologicum Magnum*.[17]

On the other hand, those who favored Ἑλλοί at *Il.* 16.234 drew upon a wider network of etymological associations: with Hellopia (Ἑλλοπία), a land mentioned by Hesiod as containing Dodona; with Hellos (Ἑλλὸς) the Thessalian or the Oak-Cutter, the eponymous hero of the Dodonian oracle; and with the 'helos' (τὸ ἕλος), the marsh, that was to be found near the sacred precinct of Dodona.

The Hesiodic passage describes Hellopia as a rich and populous land in which Zeus established his oracle at Dodona. The passage is preserved in a scholium on Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 1167, where, as we shall see, the Σελλοί are mentioned (= Hesiod fr. 240):

that inevitably accompanied them, were a matter of much debate in antiquity; see, for example, Strabo (7.7.10; 8.3.5–6), who reports the differences of opinion between Demetrius of Skepsis and Apollodorus about the existence of a Thesprotian Selleeis.

[17] Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 141 (quoted in note 11 above); *Hesychius* sub Σελλήεις (quoted in text above); *Eustathius* on *Il.* 16.234: ὅσοι δὲ Σελλοὺς γράφουσι δίχα συναλιφῆς οὕτω νοοῦσιν· ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ Σελλοὶ ναίουσιν ὑποφῆται. Καὶ οὗτοι μέν φασι Σελλοὺς λέγεσθαι ὡς ἀπὸ ποταμοῦ Σελλήεντος…; *Et. Magn.* sub Σελλοί: δεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σ ἄρχεσθαι…

ἔνιοι δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ σ γράφουσιν Ἐλλοὺς ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐλλοπίαν τὴν Δωδώνην νομίζουσιν εἶναι· τὴν γὰρ χώραν οὕτως Ἡσίοδος ὀνομάζει ἐν Ἠοίαις λέγων οὕτως·

ἔστί τις Ἐλλοπίη πολυλήιος ἠδ᾽ εὐλείμων
ἀφνειὴ μήλοισι καὶ εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν·
ἐν δ᾽ ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες, πολυβοῦται,
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
ἔνθα δὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ᾽ ἐσχατιῇ πεπόλισται,
τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐφίλησε καὶ ὃν χρηστήριον εἶναι
τίμιον ἀνθρώποις· ›
‹ ναῖον δ᾽ ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ·
ἔνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήια πάντα φέρονται
ὃς δὴ κεῖθι μολὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον ἐξερεείνῃ
δῶρα φέρων ‹τ᾽› ἔλθῃσι σὺν οἰωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν

Herodian too, as mentioned above, though apparently regarding both Ἑλλοί and Σελλοί as legitimate, infers that Ἑλλοί is associated with (H)ellopia. So also Eustathius: ἐκεῖνοι δέ, ὅτι Ἑλλοὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀπὸ Ἑλλοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, ἀφ᾽ ὧν καὶ Ἑλλοπίαν τὸν περὶ Δωδώνην τόπον καλεῖσθαι.[18]

The proponents of Ἑλλοί also mention the name of the local hero Hellos the Thessalian (Ἑλλός ὁ Θεσσαλός) as the source of the ethnic: Σελλοί· "Ἑλλοί," ἀπὸ Ἑλλοῦ τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ. οὕτω δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ οἱ παλαιοί (T scholia on *Il.* 16.234). So also Eustathius (quoted in text above). He is surely the same as Hellos the Oak-Cutter (Ἑλλός ὁ δρυτόμος), the hero of Dodona to whom the first dove revealed the oracle: Ἑλλοί χωρὶς τοῦ ς, ἀπὸ Ἑλλοῦ τοῦ δρυτόμου, ᾧ φασι τὴν περιστερὰν πρώτην καταδεῖξαι τὸ μαντεῖον (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234). So Philostratus:

Ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πέλεια ἔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοί, οὓς ἐκ Διὸς ἀναφθέγγεται, κεῖται δ᾽ οὗτος ὁ πέλεκυς, ὃν μεθῆκεν Ἑλλὸς ὁ δρυτόμος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ κατὰ Δωδώνην οἱ Ἑλλοί, στέμματα δ᾽ ἀνῆπται τῆς δρυός, ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ὁ Πυθοῖ τρίπους χρησμοὺς ἐκφέρει. φοιτᾷ δ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἐρέσθαι τι αὐτήν, ὁ δὲ θῦσαι, καὶ χορὸς οὑτοσὶ ἐκ Θηβῶν περιεστᾶσι τὴν δρῦν οἰκειούμενοι τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ δένδρου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν ὄρνιν ἐκεῖ παλευθῆναι.[19]

But a poignant reminder of the dynamism of the Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί controversy is the eccentric scholium that insists on naming the hero Sellos

[18] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 16.234.
[19] Philostratus *Imagines* 2.33.1 (in O. Benndorf and K. Schenkl's edition).

rather than Hellos: ἀπὸ Σελλοῦ τοῦ Θετταλοῦ τοῦτο τὸ γένος· ὅθεν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερεῖς ἐγίνοντο (B scholia on *Il.* 16.234).

Finally, we have at least one attempt to defend Ἑλλοί on the grounds of its association with the marsh (τὸ ἕλος) that was to be found near the sacred precinct of Dodona. The deluge in the time of Deucalion was thought to have most affected Greece in the area around the Achelous river near Dodona (cf. Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 1.352b1), and this was perhaps thought to account for the area's wetness. The *Etymologicum Magnum*, though late, preserves a clearly ancient proposal that this marshiness (τὸ ἕλος) was the actual source of the ethnic Ἑλλοί:

> Σελλοί· Ἰλιάδος Π΄. Ὅτι Ἕλλος καὶ Ἕλλοι τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ τῆς Ἠπείρου κατοικοῦν ἔθνος· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω τινὲς λέγουσι τὸ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ,
> ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἐλλοὶ σοὶ ναίουσιν.
> Εἴρηται δὲ αὐτὸ παρὰ τὸ ἕλος· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τῆς γῆς, ἔνθα ᾤκουν, ἑλώδους γενομένου, μετῴκησαν ἐν Δωδώνῃ.[20]

Apollodorus helped preserve this folk etymology, although from what we can elicit from Strabo's reference (7.7.10) he is comparing ἕλος specifically to the toponym Ἑλλοπία, not to the ethnic Ἑλλοί:

> Φιλόχορος δέ φησι καὶ τὸν περὶ Δωδώνην τόπον, ὥσπερ τὴν Εὔβοιαν, Ἑλλοπίαν κληθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡσίοδον οὕτω λέγειν·
> ἔστι τις Ἑλλοπίη, πολυλήιος ἠδ' εὐλείμων·
> ἔνθα δὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ πεπόλισται.
> Οἴονται δὲ, φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι. Τὸν μέντοι ποιητὴν οὐ λέγειν Ἑλλοὺς, ἀλλὰ Σελλοὺς ὑπολαμβάνει τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, προσθεὶς, ὅτι καὶ Σελλήεντά τινα ὀνομάζει ποταμόν.

It is difficult to judge the weight of the evidence presented by these conflicting etymologies: Σελλήεις, Σελλός, Ἑλλοπία, Ἑλλός, ἕλος. But I wish to make one observation here that I will repeat below: this controversy could not have arisen solely from an ambiguity in the script of the text of *Il.* 16.234.[21] Rather, the evidence suggests that the controversy about Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί was one that raged far and wide outside the confines of Homeric textual criticism. It was an old controversy, embedded in the rich mythic traditions about Zeus' oracle at Dodona, quite apart from Homer.

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[20] *Et. Magn.* sub Σελλοί.

[21] This unlikely view is often expressed by proponents of both forms: cf. Bölte (*RE* VIII sub Helloi); Ziehen (*RE* Suppl. V sub Σελλοί); M. Leumann (1950) 40.

Thus far our external evidence has included the Homeric manuscripts themselves and the testimony of ancient commentators responding to the specific Homeric usage of Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί at *Il.* 16.234. But we are fortunate to have in addition the evidence of several ancient authors who appear to have used the names Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί independently of the Homeric passage. Sophocles and Aristotle use Σελλοί. Pindar, Alexander of Pleuron (according to the D scholia), and Philostratus use Ἑλλοί. Callimachus uses both forms.[22]

Sophocles holds the distinction of the earliest usage of the name Σελλοί independent of Homer. In his *Trachiniae* Heracles relates to his son Hyllus the prophecies and oracles that foretold his death: that he would die not at the hands of the living but of one already dead—by the blood of the Centaur Nessos, whom he himself had killed, as he now comes to realize. He recalls the oracle that he heard from his father's oak, in the grove of the Σελλοί, who live in the mountains and sleep on the ground (1164–73):

> φανῶ δ' ἐγὼ τούτοισι συμβαίνοντ' ἴσα
> μαντεῖα καινά, τοῖς πάλαι ξυνήγορα,
> ἃ τῶν ὀρείων καὶ χαμαικοιτῶν ἐγὼ
> Σελλῶν ἐσελθὼν ἄλσος ἐξεγραψάμην
> πρὸς τῆς πατρῴας καὶ πολυγλώσσου δρυός,
> ἥ μοι χρόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι καὶ παρόντι νῦν
> ἔφασκε μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐμοὶ
> λύσιν τελεῖσθαι· κἀδόκουν πράξειν καλῶς.
> τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ·
> τοῖς γὰρ θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίγνεται.

The Σελλοί are also mentioned by Aristotle in his investigation of change in the universe (*Meteorologica* 1.352b1). Here he recalls the tale of the cataclysmic flood in the time of Deucalion, insisting that it took place chiefly in Hellenic lands and particularly around ancient Hellas, the country around Dodona and the Achelous river, where the Σελλοί dwelt, and those formerly called Graikoi but now Hellenes:

> ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ καλούμενος ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμός· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἐγένετο τόπον μάλιστα, καὶ τούτου περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν ἀρχαίαν. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον· οὗτος γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τὸ ῥεῦμα μεταβέβληκεν· ᾤκουν γὰρ οἱ Σελλοὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δ' Ἕλληνες.

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[22] Euripides is possibly referring to the priests of Dodona in a passage of his *Erechtheus* (fr. 367), where he mentions the practice of sleeping on the ground and not washing feet, but the fragment does not include a name.

Pindar holds the distinction of the earliest usage of the name Ἑλλοί independent of Homer. His *Hymn to Dodonian Zeus* is very fragmentary (frr. 57–60), but what remains clearly associates the Ἑλλοί with the oracle at Dodona: fragment 57 begins with an invocation to the Dodonaean (Δωδωναῖε), and fragment 59 mentions the Ἑλλοί in conjunction with an oracle (μαντήιον) next to the T(o)maros mountain range (which overlooks Dodona from the southwest):[23]

(fr. 57) Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενές
ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ
...
(fr. 59)...
[ ]..εν̣ε̣ [
[ ]πάτ̣ερ·
(τ)ό]θι˼] . π̇ʼ Ἐλλῶν .χρο[
]ες ἑορτ[ά .] κατεβα[
]ν γεδα[...] . (.)ν·[
ἀψευδὲ̣[ς] . ε̣υ μ̣αν̣[τ]ή̣ιον[
ἐφέπετ̣[αι]πτυχὶ Τομά̣ρου[
]ς ἀμετέρας ἄπ[ο
φόρμι]γγι κοινω-
σ]ν πολυώνυμον·
ἔνθεν μὲν [| τ]ρ̣ιπ̣όδεσ̣σ̣ί τε
καὶ θυσίαις[|]
...

Ancient testimony from as early as Aristarchus confirms Pindar's use of Ἑλλοί: ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος Ἑλλοὺς αὐτοὺς οἴεται (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234); Πίνδαρος δὲ Ἑλλοὺς αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι χωρὶς τοῦ σ τὸ μαντεῖον (A scholia on *Il.* 16.234); πότερον δὲ χρὴ λέγειν Ἑλλούς, ὡς Πίνδαρος... (Strabo 7.7.10). So also elsewhere in the A and D scholia on *Il.* 16.234 and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (quoted fully above).

Alexander of Pleuron, a contemporary of Callimachus, also mentions some details about the Ἑλλοί that appear to be independent of Homer: that they are the descendents of the Tyrrhenians and that they worship Zeus according to their ancestral custom (so D scholia on *Il.* 16.234): Ἀλέξανδρος δέ φησιν ὁ Πλευρώνιος, ἔθνος εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλοὺς ἀπόγονον Τυρρηνῶν, καὶ διὰ πατρῷον ἔθος, οὕτω τὸν Δία θρησκεύειν.

[23] The connection between fragments 57 and 59 is attractive but still somewhat tenuous; so I. Rutherford (2001) 427–429.

Philostratus too (quoted fully above) offers several interesting details about the cult of Dodona and the Ἑλλοί that are independent of Homer: a golden dove, an axe, Hellos the Oak-Cutter from whom the Ἑλλοί are descended, and various other details about the consultation of the oracle.

Finally, as though to epitomize the larger Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί controversy in antiquity, Callimachus offers both forms independently of any reference to Homer, Σ]ελλός in a fragment of the *Aetia*, and Ἑλλ̣[in a fragment *incertae sedis*. In both fragments the location of the Σελλοί/Ἑλλοί in the T(o)maros mountains is proof that Callimachus is speaking about the oracle of Dodona:

Aetia fr. 23.1–7:
ἀστέρα, ναὶ κεραῶν ῥῆξιν ἄριστε βοῶν.
ὣ]ς ὁ μὲν ἔνθ' ἠρᾶτο, σὺ δ' ὡς ἁλὸς ἦχον ἀκούει
Σ]ελλὸς ἐνὶ Τμαρίοις οὔρεσιν Ἰκαρίης,
ἠι]θέων ὡς μάχλα φιλήτορος ὦτα πενιχροῦ,
ὡς ἄδικοι πατέρων υἱέες, ὡς σὺ λύρης
—ἐσσὶ] γα̣ρ οὐ μάλ' ἐλαφρός, ἃ καὶ λ̣ι̣ ο̣ς ουσεχελέξ…—,
λυ]γρῶν ὣ̣ς ἐ̣π̣έων οὐδὲ̣ν [ὀπι]ζ̣ό̣μ̣[εν]ος
...
Fragmenta incertae sedis 675:
] ̣ἕδρανον Ἑλλ.[
Τ]μαρίοις [

The picture we get from the external evidence, then, is one of varied hues and shades: there appears to have existed a rich and wide-spread controversy about the names Σελλοί and Ἑλλοί that manifested itself in the historical and mythic traditions about the ancient oracle at Dodona, in various folk etymologies, and in the varied use of these names by literary authors other than Homer.

I reiterate what I stated earlier: a textual ambiguity in a single Homeric verse caused by the majuscular and continuous script of early manuscripts (i.e., ΑΜΦΙΔΕΣΕΛ(Λ)ΟΙ) could not have spawned this confusion. On the contrary, the ambiguity of the Homeric passage is a result of this confusion, not the cause of it.

And I repeat what I proposed earlier: both forms are correct in their own way. Homer meant Σελλοί, and that is what we should read in our texts of this passage, but the actual historic name of this priestly tribe of Dodona was Ἑλλοί, a very ancient name to which may be compared an entire network of cognates associated with Dodona: Ἑλλός, the woodsman and mythical cult founder of Dodona; Ἑλλάς,

an ancient name for the area around Dodona; the Ἕλληνες, the early inhabitants of Dodona, and their eponymous ancestor Ἕλλην; Ἑλλοπίη, another land near Dodona; and Ἑλλά, a name for the temple of Zeus at Dodona. To these may be added: the *Ἕλλοπες, the presumed inhabitants of Ἑλλοπίη; the Ἑλλήσποντος and its eponymous heroine Ἕλλη; Ἑλλώτις, an epithet of Athena in Corinth and of Europa in Crete, and Ἑλλωτία, a festival in their honor; and of course a myriad of derivatives in Ἑλλην-, Ἑλληνο-, Ἑλλαν-, Ἑλλανο-, Ἑλλαδ-, as well as various other compounds like Πανέλληνες, Φιλέλλην, etc.

Probably long before the time of Homer one of his bardic predecessors, who had never actually been to distant Dodona, on the fringes of the Hellenic world, had misheard a formulaic expression in which the name was embedded and consequently metanalyzed Ἑλλοί as Σελλοί. Thereby the metanalyzed form Σελλοί entered the oral epic diction, spread throughout the Hellenic world, and eventually reached Homer in far-off Ionia. This scenario—of an early and widespread dissemination of the metanalyzed form Σελλοί, existing side by side with the actual historical form Ἑλλοί—would satisfactorily account for the rich and widespread controversy that we have witnessed in the external evidence.

A Phonological Explanation

How, specifically, did the change in form occur in the epic diction? What were the phonetic avenues that paved the way for this metanalysis. As usual we cannot say with any certainty, but several possibilities from the epic diction present themselves. I offer them merely for the sake of illustration.

The metanalysis could have occurred in a simple prepositional phrase of the type that is so common with names of people and places in the epic diction: εἰς Ἑλλούς > εἰς Σελλούς; ἐξ Ἑλλῶν > ἐκ Σελλῶν. It could have occurred in one of the epithet plus noun constructions so ubiquitous in epic verse: ἱεροὺς Ἑλλούς > ἱεροὺς Σελλούς; Δωδωναίους Ἑλλούς > Δωδωναίους Σελλούς. It could have occurred in a formulaic invocation to Zeus of the type represented in *Il.* 16.233–48. I venture to construct a couple of verses, again simply for the sake of illustration:

> ἀμφὶ δὲ σ᾽ Ἑλλοί, Ζεῦ, κλυτὸν ἄλσος ναιεταοῦσι
> Ζεῦ ἄνα, ἀμφὶ δὲ σ᾽ Ἑλλοὶ ἀρ᾽ ἄλσος ναιεταοῦσι

In both verses the preposition ἀμφί could have been understood adverbially with attendant junctural metanalysis of ἀμφὶ δὲ σ' Ἑλλοί > ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοί.[24]

I conclude with two observations. First, toponyms and ethnics, especially of distant and exotic places and peoples, are especially susceptible to such metanalysis. I have treated in an earlier chapter the metanalyzed toponyms Νῖσα/Ἶσος, Ἰθώμη/Θώμη, and Παισός/Ἀπαισός, among others, and I have just proposed in the last chapter a metanalysis of the ethnic Γάβιοι as Ἄβιοι. Of the hundreds of toponyms and ethnics in the Homeric epics many dozens remain unidentified to this day, in spite of the energetic quests of archaeologists and anthropologists. And for good reason: the places and peoples designated by these names were often unknown even to Homer and his audience, for the sites had long been abandoned and any memory of the names of the inhabitants had long since grown dim. By Homer's time they were just exotic names, embedded in formulaic phrases, that owed their survival solely to the oral epic tradition through which their memory continued to be transmitted. Like the Thracian tribe, the Γάβιοι, "the justest of men" who lived almost unimaginably far off to the north and east, the Ἑλλοί were exotic and thought to have lived on the fringes of the Hellenic world. They were probably known to the bardic guardians of the epic tradition only through ancient catalogues and lists of names embedded in formulaic phrases, and their name was therefore prone to metanalysis as Σελλοί in junctural circumstances not unlike those of the Γάβιοι (cf. Γάβιοι > γ' Ἄβιοι and σ' Ἑλλοί > Σελλοί).

Second, as we have observed in an earlier chapter, the variability of initial sigma that we witness here is a common feature of the Greek language generally, for almost any Greek word can, under certain conditions, end in a sigma, sometimes even 'movable sigma,' and words that begin in a sigma are very numerous as well. The metanalysis of such combinations as εἰς τόν > στόν, εἰς τήν > στήν is well known in later Greek, and such phrases as εἰς τὴν πόλιν and εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους have resulted in the metanalyzed toponyms Stamboul (Istanbul) and Stagoi (Kalambaka). Later Greek in fact presents us with a plethora of forms with initial σ- that are σ-less in Classical Greek: (σ)βῶλος, (σ)κά(ν)θαρος, (σ)φαντάζω, etc. Junctural metanalysis of combinations

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[24] For the syntactical construction ναίω + acc. and prepositional ἀμφί + acc. cf. *Il.* 2.854; for ναίω + adverbial ἀμφί cf. *Od.* 9.22–23.

of words that either end or begin in sigma (or both) may account at least partially for the multitude of biforms in σ- in earlier Greek as well—(σ)τέρφος, (σ)κάπετος, (σ)μυκτήρ, etc.—and it is surely the primary culprit in the vulgar allegro expressions (σ)πέλεθος, (σ)πλεκόω, and (σ)κορακίζω. Homeric diction also abounds in such biforms: (σ)μικρός, (σ)κεδάννυμι, σῦς/ὗς, etc. I will propose in a later chapter that an obscure combination of Homeric epithets of Hermes—σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72)—was the outcome of a metanalysis of a phrase containing the collocation -ς ὠκύς. I propose that Homer's Σελλοί can be explained in a similar manner, i.e., through junctural metanalysis of a phrase containing the obscure ethnic Ἑλλοί, and I have suggested some phonetic environments that present themselves in the Homeric diction—even in the lone verse *Il.* 16.234—as possible avenues for the metanalysis of Ἑλλοί.

Winston Churchill once referred to Russia as a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma. The same could be said of the Σελλοί. And while I cannot hope to have solved the riddle entirely, perhaps this probe through some of the layers of the enigma has rendered the Σελλοί a bit less mysterious.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

A PECULIAR PARTICLE TAP / ἌΡ(')

The peculiar enclitic particle ταρ, which apparently serves to strengthen a preceding interrogative to which it is usually found attached—τίς ταρ, τί ταρ, πῶς ταρ, etc.—occurs, or is said to have occurred, in some Homeric manuscripts at least fifteen times in the *Iliad*,[1] fourteen times in the *Odyssey*,[2] and twice in the *Hymns*.[3] Yet many modern-day readers of Homer have never seen the word, or at least have not given it any meaningful consideration. And with good reason: for it is possible that ταρ never existed in Homeric verse, or, for that matter, even in the Greek language. It may have been just a phantom word: i.e., the combination of the letters TAP, as they appear in the *scriptio continua* of early manuscripts, should instead be analyzed as τ' ἄρ or τ' ἄρ', elided forms of the ubiquitous particles τε and ἄρα, or, in some passages, they should be regarded as scribal errors for the visually nearly identical ΓΑΡ (the particle γάρ).

Modern critical editions are divided: some, like the still widely used Oxford editions of D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen of both the *Iliad* (1920) and *Odyssey* (1917, 1919), P. von der Mühll's Teuber edition of the

[1] *Il.* 1.8, 65, 123; 2.761; 3.226; 10.61, 424; 11.656, 838; 12.409; 13.307; 17.475; 18.6, 182, 188. I exclude from this list *Il.* 1.93, although the reading οὔ ταρ ὅ γ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται is favored there by Herodian, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and read in Venetus A and several other Byzantine codices, all perhaps owing to mistaken analogy with εἴ ταρ ὅ γ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται a few verses earlier at *Il.* 1.65; for *Il.* 1.93, unlike 1.65, is not an interrogative sentence and should therefore, along with the vast majority of manuscripts, be read οὔτ' ἄρ'..., a very common Homeric collocation in non-interrogative sentences. I exclude for the same reason *Il.* 5.89, 7.433, 10.25, 249, and 21.288, where ταρ mistakenly occurs in a very few Byzantine codices.

[2] *Od.* 3.22 (2x); 4.443; 10.337, 383, 501; 13.417; 14.115; 15.509; 16.70, 222; 17.382; 19.325; 23.264. I exclude from this list *Od.* 1.346, even though τί τ' ἄρα φθονέεις (so all manuscripts except four late codices that record a contextually awkward τ' ἄρ αὖ and one codex that records an impossible τ' ἂρ ἂν) is an interrogative sentence; for τ' ἄρα with the full unelided disyllabic form of ἄρα is required here, and it is not readily reconstructable as ταρ. I consider the full significance of this unique passage below.

[3] I have included two verses that should be read identically at *H.Ap.* 19 and 207—πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω—even though all manuscripts have γάρ in the former passage and τ' ἄρ in the latter.

Odyssey (1984), and, more recently, H. van Thiel's Weidmann editions of both the *Iliad* (1996) and *Odyssey* (1991), demote all instances of ταρ recorded in the ancient manuscripts to their apparatus criticus and print τ' ἄρ, τ' ἄρ', or γάρ in their texts; others, like W. Leaf's second MacMillan edition of the *Iliad* (1900–1902), and, more recently, M.L West's Teubner edition of the *Iliad* (1998, 2000), promote ταρ wherever possible to their texts, sometimes even in the absence of any manuscript support (as at *Il.* 10.421 and 17.475 in West's edition), and relegate τ' ἄρ, τ' ἄρ', and γάρ to their apparatus. Many editions, like T.W. Allen's Oxford *editio major* of the *Iliad* (1931), P. Mazon's Budé edition of the *Iliad* (1937–1938), and V. Bérard's Budé edition of the *Odyssey* (1924–1925) make inscrutable *ad hoc* decisions, resulting in texts that are sometimes frustratingly inconsistent: e.g., why τί τ' ἄρ' ὧδε at *Il.* 12.409 but τίπτε ταρ ὧδ' at *Il.* 11.656? why τίς γάρ at *Il.* 18.182 but τίς ταρ at *Il.* 3.226? why πῶς γάρ at *Il.* 10.61 and *Od.* 10.337 but πῶς ταρ at *Il.* 18.188 and *Od.* 3.22?[4]

The inconsistency of modern critical editions is a manifestation of the conflicting testimony of the ancient manuscripts: a handful of early papyri and a few Byzantine codices, most notoriously the famous Venetus A of the *Iliad*, read ταρ in several, but never all, of its possible instances; but ταρ is entirely absent in the vast majority of Homeric manuscripts. There survives some ancient testimony witnessing to the fact that the dispute over this form goes back at least to the

[4] The uneven treatment of ταρ can be observed synoptically in the following list of modern editions arranged in reverse chronological order. For the *Iliad*: M.L. West 1998, 2000 (promotes ταρ whenever possible to the text—15 of 15 possible times); H. van Thiel 1996 (never reads ταρ in the text); P. Mazon 1937–1938 (repr. 2002) (reads ταρ, reportedly in agreement with Venetus A, at 1.8, 65, 93, 123; 2.761; 3.226; 11.656, 838; 13.307; 18.6, 188, although Venetus A does not in fact read ταρ at 11.656 and 13.307); T.W. Allen 1931 (reads ταρ 9 of 15 times in the text); D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen third edition 1920 (never reads ταρ in the text); J. van Leeuwen 1912–1913 (never reads ταρ in the text); A. Ludwich 1902–1907 (reads ταρ 9 of 15 times in the text); W. Leaf second edition 1900–1902 (reads ταρ 12 of 15 times in the text); J. La Roche 1873–1876 (reads ταρ only at 1.8); K.F. Ameis 1868 (never reads ταρ in the text). For the *Odyssey*: H. van Thiel 1991 (never reads ταρ in the text but mentions it twice in the apparatus as a ms. variant); the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla edition of Arnoldo Mondadori 1981–1987 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus); P. von der Mühll 1946 (never reads ταρ in the text but occasionally mentions it in the apparatus as an editorial emendation); V. Bérard 1924–1925 (reads ταρ twice at 3.22); J. van Leeuwen 1917 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus); T.W. Allen 1917, 1919 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus); A. Ludwich 1889–1891 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus); J. La Roche 1867–1868 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus); K.F. Ameis 1856 (never reads ταρ in the text or apparatus).

Alexandrians, with Aristarchus,[5] Apollonius Dyscolus,[6] and Herodian[7] supporting against the majority opinion the reading ταρ in at least some Homeric passages. Their views are indirectly preserved by some of the later lexicographers, who classify ταρ as a conjunction with a meaning similar to δέ, δή, ἄρα, and ταχέως.[8]

Modern philologists have inherited and perpetuated this controversy, and their views can be subsumed under three categories. Some deny the existence of ταρ as a real word, explaining its occurrences in some Homeric manuscripts and its status as an object of discussion among the ancient scholars as the result of a late scribal misdivision of TAP = τ' ἄρ(') in the *scriptio continua*. C.J. Ruijgh argues most forcefully for this position in his vast treatment of 'epic-τε.' He would 'correct' all incidences of ταρ in the ancient manuscripts to τ' ἄρ or τ' ἄρ', which seem to him not objectionably abnormal collocations in interrogative sentences. He takes τε in this construction as a conjunction that gives some emphasis to the connection between what precedes the question and the question itself: τίς τ' then is parallel to καὶ τίς of the later Greek vernacular. He does not deem peculiar the fact that τε in interrogatives is always followed immediately in Homer by ἄρα, a particle that he suggests adds even further emphasis to the question.[9] J.D. Denniston too had earlier found no place for ταρ in his monumental work on Greek particles. Rather, he attributed different hues of semantic coloring to ἄρα and τ' ἄρα in interrogative sentences: the former adds liveliness to the question, the latter surprise. He regarded τε as a connective in these circumstances; yet, he remained somewhat uneasy about this exceptional use of τε to connect full sentences rather than shorter phrases and words—its usual habit as a connective.[10] More recently, in an attempt to decipher the difficult Cyprian inscription *i-?-ta-re*, G. Neumann has rejected the possibility of reading ταρ, either here, or, for that matter, anywhere, declaring with much greater conviction

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[5] In a scholium on *Il.* 18.182 Didymus reports that Aristarchus' later edition of the *Iliad* read ταρ, his earlier edition γάρ.

[6] Apollonius Dyscolus quotes *Il.* 1.8 several times as τίς τάρ σφωι, and he regards ταρ as a component of the particle αὐτάρ (*De Coniunctionibus* 241 and 254 [in R. Schneider's edition]).

[7] The scholia on *Il.* 1.65 and 93 record that Herodian supported the reading ταρ (an enclitic conjunction, as he called it, unrelated to τε and, presumably, to ἄρα).

[8] *Et. Gud.* sub ταρ: σύνδεσμος, ἰσοδύναμος τοῦ ἄρα καὶ δή; *Hesychius* sub τάρ: σύνδεσμος. δέ, δή, ἄρα, καὶ δή, ταχέως.

[9] C.J. Ruijgh (1971) 804–809.

[10] *Denniston* 39, 43, 533–534.

than either Denniston or Ruijgh that "ein griechisches Wort *ταρ gibt es nicht."[11] Many modern philologists who (apparently) share this opinion—É. Boisacq, H. Frisk, W.B. Stanford, etc.—have imposed upon ταρ a different, perhaps more ignominious, fate: they have relegated the form to oblivion by neglecting it altogether.[12]

Others acknowledge the existence of ταρ as an independent word, a single particle, that should possibly be so read in some Homeric passages, but they seek its origin simply in a combination of τ(ε) plus ἄρ(α), just as γάρ is probably in origin a combination of γ(ε) plus ἄρ(α). This view is most readily observable in Homeric lexica such as those of Cunliffe and Autenrieth, or in more general etymological dictionaries, such as Chantraine's *DELG*, all of which have very short entries on ταρ that simply refer the reader to τε and/or ἄρα.[13] This view can also be observed in some Homeric grammars, such as that of D.B. Monro, and commentaries, such as the recent Cambridge Commentary on the *Iliad*.[14]

A third group recognizes ταρ fully as a word in its own right, an enclitic particle unrelated to the particles τε and ἄρα, that once existed in pre-historic Greek and was preserved in the *Kunstsprache* of early epic even as it passed away in the vernacular. The route to this view was slow and incremental, beginning perhaps with J. La Roche, in 1866, who expressed agreement with those Alexandrian scholars who considered ταρ an enclitic conjunction unrelated to τε and ἄρα, and who supported Venetus A in reading ταρ in several Iliadic passages.[15] Soon after, in 1876, C.G. Cobet advanced the status of ταρ a bit further by proposing that in several Homeric passages, including some in the

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[11] G. Neumann (1987) 116.

[12] The standard lexica of *Boisacq* and *GEW* do not even have entries for ταρ, and some standard Homeric commentaries like Stanford's *Odyssey* or the recent Oxford Commentary on the *Odyssey* never mention the word.

[13] *Cunliffe* sub ταρ simply refers to ἄρα, where the construction τ' ἄρα occupies an addendum to the eighth, and last, meaning listed. *Autenrieth* sub ταρ refers to τε and ἄρα, where there are no explanations of the construction τ' ἄρα. *DELG* sub ταρ refers to τε, where there is no mention of ταρ.

[14] *Monro*, *Grammar* (paragraph 332 and addendum to paragraph 348) proposes that the force of τε has merged in the compound ταρ, which should be so read in some Homeric passages; *Edwards*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 18.182, in the only reference to ταρ in the Cambridge Commentary on the *Iliad*, leaves open the possibility that ταρ is to be read at 18.182 but analyzes it simply as a combination τε plus ἄρα—or possibly τοι plus ἄρα (a possibility earlier raised by J. Vendryes [1938] 90, 106–107).

[15] J. La Roche (1866) 359–360. La Roche actually prints ταρ in his 1873 edition at *Il.* 1.8 (but only there).

Odyssey, where an interrogative (τίς, τίπτε, πῶς, πῇ, ποίῃ) is followed by γάρ, we should instead read ταρ, along with some of the Hellenistic scholars and ancient manuscripts.[16] Then J. Wackernagel, in a lecture titled "Indogermanische Dichtersprache" delivered in Munich in 1932, burnished the credentials of ταρ further, moving its existence back in time well before the Homeric period, by using τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν at *Il.* 1.8 (rather than τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν of the vulgate text) to illustrate the pattern of sentence-second position of enclitics as an inherited feature of Indo-European poetics (i.e., 'Wackernagel's Law').[17] Building upon Wackernagel's innovative proposal, C. Watkins, in 1995, was the first to propose a specific cognate of ταρ in another Indo-European language. He pointed out the remarkable phrasal coincidence between Cuneiform Luvian *kuiš=tar* 'whoever' and Homeric τίς ταρ. Both Luvian *kuiš=tar* and Homeric τίς ταρ then, would appear to go back to PIE **kʷis tr̥*.[18] Watkins' former student J.T. Katz has recently (2007) added further support to this supposition by detecting the elusive particle ταρ hidden away in the common Homeric particle αὐτάρ (though not in the presumably unrelated ἀτάρ), which he argues is composed of αὖ plus ταρ rather than the generally understood αὖτε plus ἄρα.[19]

The attribution to ταρ of great antiquity in the history of the Greek language, and even of Indo-European credentials, has now found its way into some standard Homeric reference works. The even-keeled *LfgE* begins its entry on ταρ by expressing uncertainty as to whether it is an independent word with Indo-European connections or simply a combination of τε + ἄρ(α), but then shows its bias by placing in its bibliographical section only one work that argues for the latter. It then marshals the ancient evidence, both among the Alexandrian scholars and the ancient manuscripts, in favor of ταρ, noting in support of this view the abnormality of τε in an interrogative sentence. It concludes that an original ταρ was perhaps misunderstood as τ' ἄρ in the process of dictation or later copying, and it lists 31 examples in epic verse where ταρ should probably be read. This is a complete reversal of the view expressed thirty-three years earlier in the *LfgE* when the entry for

[16] C.G. Cobet (1876) 315–323. He endorses ταρ at *Il.* 10.61, 424; 18.182, 188; *Od.* 3.22 (2x); 10.501; 13.417; 14.115; 15.509; 16.222.

[17] This lecture is included in Wackernagel's *Kleine Schriften* (1955–1979) 186–204; see esp. 193.

[18] C. Watkins (1995) 150–151, 336.

[19] J.T. Katz (2007).

ἄρα was written: i.e., that τε + ἄρ(α) was a normal construction in epic interrogative sentences.[20]

This entire debate over the status of ταρ may seem to many readers of Homer rather abstract and inconsequential, but for an editor of a critical text, who must make a decision about what to print in the text and what to demote to the apparatus criticus, it is both very concrete and consequential. As a result the debate finds itself most publicly—though pithily—manifested in the uneven treatment of ταρ in the many modern critical editions of the Homeric epics (and hymns). While many modern editors have continued to leave ταρ entirely out in the dark (e.g., van Leeuwen, Ameis, Allen and Sikes), or to tuck it away in the shadows of the apparatus (Monro and Allen, von der Mühll, van Thiel), M.L. West, in a move that is likely to elevate ταρ to the status of a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί, has printed it in the text of his recent Teubner edition of the *Iliad* in all fifteen interrogative sentences in which it can possibly be read, sometimes even in the absence of any manuscript support (as at *Il.* 10.421 and 17.475). West defends this treatment of ταρ by reasoning that it cannot stand for τ' ἄρ(α), since τε is not suitable in an interrogative sentence, and since the full form τάρα (for τ' ἄρα) does not exist.[21]

It is perhaps apparent by now that I am an enthusiastic proponent of this third view. I believe that the enclitic particle ταρ existed in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, that it suffered some sort of junctural metanalysis during various phases of epic transmission, and that a reasonable argument can be made for elevating it to the texts of our modern critical editions in the following thirty-one passages of the *Iliad, Odyssey*, and *Hymns*:

Il. 1.8: τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;
[Several ancient commentators read ταρ: Aristarchus (as we may infer from his probable reading of 18.182); Apollonius Dyscolus (who quotes this verse several times as τίς τάρ σφωι); Herodian (as we may infer from his readings of 1.65 and 93). Venetus A and a handful of other Byzantine codices have ταρ. All other mss. have τ' ἄρ.]

[20] Contrast *LfgE* sub ταρ (generally) with sub ἄρα (section IV 2 b).

[21] *M.L. West, Iliad* xxix, and text and apparatus of Il. 1.8, 65, 123; 2.761; 3.226; 10.61, 424; 11.656, 838; 12.409; 13.307; 17.475; 18.6, 182, 188.

Il. 1.65: εἴ ταρ ὅ γ' εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἠδ' ἑκατόμβης…
[Here ταρ is used in an indirect rather than direct interrogative, as also at *Il.* 2.761. Herodian reads ταρ (according to the scholia on this verse). The verse is so quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A D scholium defines εἴ ταρ as εἴτε δή here. Some 1st–3rd c. A.D. papyri have the nebulous ειταρ. Venetus A and Z have ταρ. All other mss. have τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 1.123: πῶς τάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί;
[A 1st c. A.D. papyrus has ταρ. A Homeric glossary of this passage from the 2nd–3rd c. A.D. (= P.Oxy. 2405) defines ταρ as δή here. But other than Venetus A, which here as elsewhere has ταρ, most mss. have γάρ. Hesychius has τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 2.761: τίς ταρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην σύ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα…
[Here ταρ is used in an indirect rather than direct interrogative, as also at *Il.* 1.65. A 1st–2nd c. A.D. papyrus has ταρ. Venetus A and two later codices have ταρ. Most codices, as well as one 1st–2nd c. A.D. papyrus, have τ' ἄρ. A few mss. have γάρ.]

Il. 3.226: τίς ταρ ὅδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε…
[A 3rd c. A.D. papyrus and Venetus A have ταρ. A quotation of this verse by Tryphon and one late codex have γάρ. Most mss. have τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 10.61: πῶς τάρ μοι μύθῳ ἐπιτέλλεαι ἠδὲ κελεύεις;
[Most mss. have γάρ. One late codex has ταρ, and some other codices have τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 10.424: πῶς ταρ νῦν Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἱπποδάμοισιν ‖
εὕδουσ' ἦ ἀπάνευθε;
[One 3rd c. A.D. papyrus and most codices have γάρ. A few late codices have τ' ἄρ. No extant ms. actually has ταρ here.]

Il. 11.656: τίπτε ταρ ὧδ' Ἀχιλεὺς ὀλοφύρεται υἷας Ἀχαιῶν ‖
ὅσσοι δὴ βέλεσιν βεβλήαται;
[Two late codices have ταρ. One ms. has γάρ. All other mss. have τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 11.838: πῶς ταρ ἔοι τάδε ἔργα; τί ῥέξομεν Εὐρύπυλ' ἥρως;
[Venetus A and a correction in a late codex have ταρ. Codex Z has τὰρ'. Two mss. have γάρ. All other mss. have τ' ἄρ.]

Il. 12.409: ὦ Λύκιοι τί ταρ ὧδε μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς;
[A 2nd c. B.C. papyrus probably has τίπτ' ὧδε. A 6th c. A.D. papyrus and most mss. have τί τ' ἄρ. One papyrus has τι

	δ αρ. Some late codices have τίπτ' ἄρ. A correction in one late ms. has τί ταρ.]
Il. 13.307:	Δευκαλίδη πῇ ταρ μέμονας καταδῦναι ὅμιλον; [Three 1st c. B.C.–3rd c. A.D. papyri as well as four later codices have ταρ. One 5th–6th c. A.D. papyrus has γάρ. All other mss. have τ' ἄρ.]
Il. 17.475:	Ἀλκίμεδον τίς τάρ τοι Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ὁμοῖος… [Most mss. have γάρ. Three codices have τ' ἄρ. No extant ms. actually has ταρ here.]
Il. 18.6:	ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί ταρ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί ‖ νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο; [A 1st c. A.D. papyrus, Venetus A, and two other codices have ταρ. Most mss. have τ' ἄρ. One codex has τ' ἄρα. One has γ' ἄρ.]
Il. 18.182:	Ἶρι θεὰ τίς τάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἧκε; [Didymus reports that Aristarchus' later edition of the *Iliad* read ταρ, his earlier edition γάρ. A late papyrus, a minor A scholium, and most mss. have γάρ. Many late codices have τ' ἄρ.]
Il. 18.188:	πῶς ταρ ἴω μετὰ μῶλον; ἔχουσι δὲ τεύχε' ἐκεῖνοι· [A 1st–2nd A.D. papyrus, a 6th c. A.D. papyrus, Venetus A, and three other codices have ταρ. Three codices have γάρ. Most mss. have τ' ἄρ.]
Od. 3.22 (2x):	Μέντορ, πῶς ταρ ἴω, πῶς ταρ προσπτύξομαι αὐτόν; [In the first case, most mss. have τ' ἄρ, but some have γάρ. In the second case, one codex has ταρ, the others mostly τ' ἄρ but some γάρ.]
Od. 4.443:	τίς τάρ κ' εἰναλίῳ παρὰ κήτεϊ κοιμηθείη; [All mss. have γάρ.]
Od. 10.337:	ὦ Κίρκη, πῶς τάρ με κέλῃ σοὶ ἤπιον εἶναι; [One codex has ταρ. One has ἄρ. Two have τ' ἄρ. All others have γάρ.]
Od. 10.383:	ὦ Κίρκη, τίς τάρ κεν ἀνήρ, ὃς ἐναίσιμος εἴη… [All mss. have γάρ.]
Od. 10.501:	ὦ Κίρκη, τίς ταρ ταύτην ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσει; [All mss. have γάρ.]
Od. 13.417:	τίπτε ταρ οὔ οἱ ἔειπες, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πάντα ἰδυῖα; [One codex has ταρ. The others have τ' ἄρ and γάρ.]
Od. 14.115:	ὦ φίλε, τίς τάρ σε πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσιν… [All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 15.509: πῇ ταρ ἐγώ, φίλε τέκνον, ἴω; τεῦ δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι…
[All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 16.70: πῶς ταρ δὴ τὸν ξεῖνον ἐγὼν ὑποδέξομαι οἴκῳ;
[All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 16.222: ποίῃ ταρ νῦν δεῦρο, πάτερ φίλε, νηΐ σε ναῦται ‖ ἤγαγον εἰς Ἰθάκην;
[All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 17.382: τίς ταρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν ‖ ἄλλον γ'…
[All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 19.325: πῶς ταρ ἐμεῦ σύ, ξεῖνε, δαήσεαι, εἴ τι γυναικῶν…
[All mss. have γάρ.]

Od. 23.264: δαιμονίη, τί ταρ αὖ με μάλ' ὀτρύνουσα κελεύεις ‖ εἰπέμεν;
[Most mss. have τ' ἄρ. One 3rd–4th c. A.D. papyrus and one codex have γάρ, as does a scholium on this passage.]

H.Ap. 19: πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;
[All mss. have γάρ. Barnes' 1711 edition of the *Hymns* 'corrected' γάρ of the mss. to τ' ἄρ, which was followed by, e.g., the first edition of the *Hymns* of Allen and Sikes (1904). But the second edition of the *Hymns* of Allen-Halliday-Sikes (1936) has ταρ, as does West's 2003 Loeb edition of the *Hymns*—both here and at line 207.]

H.Ap. 207: πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα;
[All mss. have τ' ἄρ. This is followed by all modern editions (including the second edition of the *Hymns* of Allen-Halliday-Sikes [1936], which has ταρ at line 19) except West's 2003 Loeb edition of the *Hymns*, which has ταρ both here and at line 19.]

A perusal of these verses, both with attention to the larger contexts of the Homeric passages in which they occur, and with a view to the external witnesses to their attestations, provides a mirror, albeit a somewhat distorted one, through which we may glimpse a wider panorama of the history of ταρ. A glimpse of this panorama leads me to two main conclusions, one following directly upon the other.

First, ταρ is not simply a phantom word invented by perplexed scribes who were led astray by the textual ambiguity of the *scriptio continua* of early texts and mistakenly understood TAP (= τ' ἄρ[']) of the manuscripts to mean ταρ; rather, ταρ is an independent particle

that was used in interrogative sentences in early epic diction from well before the time of Homer. Ταρ cannot be a compound of τε and ἄρα, for other than in the passages in question, where τ' is followed immediately by ἄρ(') in an interrogative sentence, τε does not function in this way in Homer (except possibly at *Od.* 1.346, which I will discuss fully below). Τε serves comfortably in these interrogative sentences neither as a conjunction nor as a typical 'epic-τε' (i.e., to make the question more habitual, general, or indefinite). It is perhaps illustrative of the peculiarity of this construction that Homeric lexica and grammars have had to devise an exceptional category to explain the usage of τε here, a category that usually appears as an addendum to the general treatment and is often introduced with perceptible hesitation.[22]

Moreover, it is very curious that when τε occurs after an interrogative in our Homeric manuscripts it is always, without exception, followed by ἄρ('), but when ἄρα occurs in interrogatives, which it commonly does in Homer (especially following ἦ), it is not always preceded by τε. This distribution is highly suspect and shows that in this collocation τ' is much more dependent for its existence on ἄρ(') than normal syntax would require. Perhaps we should be more skeptical about the very existence of τ' in this collocation. In addition, when following τ' in this collocation ἄρα always appears either as ἄρ or ἄρ', never as an unelided disyllabic ἄρα (but see *Od.* 1.346 below). If ταρ simply stood for τ' ἄρ('), we would expect to find a τάρα to stand for τ' ἄρα, in the same way that τοι ἄρ(α) in drama occurs as both τἄρ' and τἄρα, thus proving its origin in ἄρα. In fact we never find the full form τάρα (for τ' ἄρα) in Homer (but see *Od.* 1.346 below). Again, this distribution is highly suspect and suggests that ἄρα is not functioning here in its normal, lexically independent way. Perhaps even the existence of ἄρα in this collocation, like the existence of τ', should be questioned.

Eliminating both τε and ἄρα from the interrogative constructions under consideration and instead reconstructing the utterly unrelated enclitic particle ταρ resolves all these difficulties. It also solves the quandary of having to assume that a well educated scribe would have

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[22] E.g., *Monro*, *Grammar* paragraph 332 appends to his treatment of τε in Homer "two isolated epic uses (that) remain to be noticed"; in an extensive treatment of τε *Denniston* 533–534 does not reach this usage until section II.3.ii, within a category titled "other uses of τε in Homer"; *LSJ* sub τε does not mention this usage until the eighth meaning under section C, where it suggests that even the existence of τε in questions is doubtful, since "ταρ should probably be read"; *LfgE* does not mention τ' ἄρ(') in questions until the last page of a thirty-two page analysis of the meaning of ἄρα.

misunderstood the easy and ubiquitous collocation of τε plus ἄρα, i.e., τ' ἄρ('), as a non-existent ταρ; for it is much more likely, indeed even predictable, that a scribe would have misunderstood an ancient, hoary, no-longer existing epic particle ταρ as the common collocation τ' ἄρ('). In other words, a form of the principle of *lectio difficilior potior* applies here.

Secondly, if we assume that a real independent word ταρ once existed, we must acknowledge and explain its eventual disappearance in the vernacular (i.e., the fact that it never occurs in Greek outside of Homer and Homerica) and its near disappearance in epic verse, as it was replaced by τ' ἄρ(') and, later, also by γάρ. I propose that the slow effacement of ταρ, and eventually its almost utter disappearance from the epic manuscript tradition, is not due simply to the textual ambiguity of the *scriptio continua* of early texts; rather, its demise was a slow evolution over the course of a very long time, from the truly oral pre-Homeric period, to the dictation of the first texts, through the textual, but still also oral, rhapsodic period, and eventually into the wholly textual period. Let me explain how and why I reconstruct this evolution.

The particle ταρ is of hoary antiquity. Indeed, it appears to have Indo-European credentials. As C. Watkins has observed (above), a specific cognate of ταρ can be found in Cuneiform Luvian in the remarkable phrasal coincidence between *kuiš=tar* 'whoever then' and Homeric τίς ταρ.[23] Luvian *kuiš* is the indefinite/interrogative/relative pronoun,[24] from the same Indo-European origin—*$*k^wis$*—whence was derived the Greek indefinite/interrogative pronoun τίς (earlier *$*k^wis$*, with labio-velar, in Proto-Greek). Luvian *tar* is an enclitic locatival particle,[25] presumably from the Indo-European pronominal stem **t-* with adverbial ending **r̥*, that is to say, PIE **tr̥*, whence Vedic *tár-hi* 'then,' Gothic *þar* 'there,' English *there*.[26] Both Luvian *kuiš=tar* and Homeric τίς ταρ (< Proto-Greek *$*k^wis$ tar*), then, go back to PIE *$*k^wis$ tr̥*.

During the eons of pre-Homeric oral epic performance there developed an extensive and flexible system of formulaic phrases that combined an interrogative with ταρ: τίς ταρ, τί ταρ, τίπτε ταρ, πῶς ταρ, πῇ ταρ, ποίῃ ταρ, εἴ ταρ. But even as the particle thrived in the

[23] The Luvian phrase appears three times according to *Melchert* sub *-tar*: *KUB* XXXV 39 iii 25, *KUB* XXXV 14 i 7, and KBo XXIX 13 ii 7.
[24] *Melchert* sub *kwi-, kwī-, kwišha*.
[25] *Melchert* sub *-tar*.
[26] *Pokorny* sub **to-, tā-, tyo-* (subgroup **tor, tēr*).

pre-Homeric epic *Kunstsprache*, it had begun to fall out of use in the vernacular. The proof of this is the utter absence of the word in the Greek language, outside the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and two possible occurrences in the *Hymn to Apollo*, even in the earliest inscriptions and in other early epic literature (Hesiod, etc.). The growing lack of familiarity with the particle's meaning and function in the vernacular must have been accompanied by a growing ambiguity about its status in epic verse. Already before the time of Homer τίς ταρ, etc. was beginning to be confused with its homonym τίς τ' ἄρ('), etc., a collocation composed of the very familiar epic particles τε and ἄρα, which in the combination τ' ἄρ(α) frequently occurred in non-interrogative epic formulas. Over time, through oral junctural metanalysis, τίς ταρ, πῶς ταρ, τίπτε ταρ, etc. suffered encroachment from the phonetically indistinguishable τίς τ' ἄρ('), πῶς τ' ἄρ('), τίπτε τ' ἄρ('), etc.

By the time of Homer ταρ had virtually ceased to exist as a living element of the epic language. A general argument for this can be found in the utter absence of the particle in non-Homeric epic verse (Hesiod, etc.), as mentioned above, or in other forms of verse that are often imitative of Homer (lyric, drama, etc.). But a more specific argument can be found in the Homeric text itself, in a passage that I have mentioned already as an important piece of evidence for the issue at hand (*Od.* 1.345–47):

> τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ηὔδα·
> μῆτερ ἐμή, τί τ' ἄρα φθονέεις ἐρίηρον ἀοιδὸν
> τέρπειν ὅππῃ οἱ νόος ὄρνυται;
> [most mss. τ' ἄρα; four codices τ' ἂρ αὖ; one codex τ' ἂρ ἂν]

Along with the vast majority of ancient manuscripts, as well as all modern critical editions, I take the correct reading here to be τ' ἄρα. The form τάρα does not otherwise exist, and ταρ is not easily reconstructable here.[27] Only here in all of epic verse does there occur in an interrogative sentence a combination of letters that must be analyzed as τ' ἄρα. Yet, even this single instance shows that τ' ἄρ(') had begun to encroach upon ταρ, surely through oral junctural metanalysis, already in the pre-Homeric period, or at the latest by the time of Homer's com-

[27] One might argue for τ' ἂρ αὖ here, along with four late codices. Or one might try to reconstruct ταρ αὖ, as at Od. 23.264—but while αὖ makes good sense there in the back and forth dialogue that has occurred between husband and wife ("why this again"), here at 1.346 αὖ does not fit the narrative context.

position of the *Odyssey*. This raises the possibility that Homer may have intended τ' ἄρ(') in some, but surely not all, of the thirty-one passages listed above as well. The metanalysis of ταρ as τ' ἄρ(') was probably incremental and uneven rather than a single uniform shift.

Further encroachment from τ' ἄρ(') probably occurred during the early dictation of epic verse: a bard sang ταρ, and a scribe wrote TEAPA, in the style of the *scriptio plena* of this very early period of writing (i.e., with the full transcription of vowels normally elided in pronunciation). This may have occurred even in Homer's own dictation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the next few generations of transmission, during which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* existed as texts but were still always performed orally, further encroachment from τ' ἄρ(') probably continued to occur during the frequent dictational events, when a singer or reader uttered ταρ, and a scribe, or scribes, recorded sometimes TAP and other times TEAPA, depending on how they construed the utterance. The visual process of simply copying the text of an older manuscript, on the other hand, would not have perpetuated the same ambiguity, since the *scriptio plena* clearly distinguished between ταρ (TAP) and τ' ἄρ(') (TEAPA). Metanalysis, or, strictly speaking, misdivision, of ταρ was not likely during this period in transmissional events that were exclusively textual.

But as the *scriptio plena* was abandoned in favor of a more concise style of writing that did not transcribe vowels elided in pronunciation, the texts themselves became increasingly ambiguous. Any reader might wonder whether the TAP of a manuscript stood for ταρ or τ' ἄρ('). And if we take the testimony of the later Hellenistic scholars as reflective of this earlier period, it would appear that while most early readers of Homer understood TAP as τ' ἄρ('), some still latched onto a memory of the old particle ταρ. It was also during this period that another scribal innovation arose in an attempt to resolve the ambiguity: TAP of the Homeric manuscripts began to be refashioned into the visually nearly identical ubiquitious particle ΓAP (γάρ). Τίς γάρ, etc. was a common collocation in the vernacular of this period, so it is natural that the strange-looking and obsolete TIΣTAP of the earlier manuscripts would have been 'corrected' to TIΣΓAP by later scribes. This was obviously a strictly visual, not an oral/aural, phenomenon.

All these developments serve to explain the rather messy outcome that we have witnessed in our inherited manuscripts of Homer: against all odds a few vestiges of ταρ survive, but it has largely given way to τ' αρ(') and γάρ. In sum, the disappearance of the very ancient particle

ταρ was an incremental and uneven process, stretching out over time from the completely oral/aural metanalysis of ταρ as τ' ἄρ(') during performances of pre-Homeric epic to the completely visual interpretation of TAP as ΓAP during the epics' later textual transmission.

This reconstructed history of ταρ offers a glimpse of a unique process whereby junctural metanalysis, rather than creating a new form or word that became a new entity in the epic lexicon, triggered instead the effacement and eventual disappearance of a word that had once been a common feature of the formulaic diction of pre-Homeric epic. The magnificently ancient and hoary ταρ was swallowed up by the homonymous, but trite and insipid, τ' αρ(')—and later by the ubiquitous γάρ. This is an instructive illustration that as a force in the historical development of a language junctural metanalysis can sometimes be as destructive as it can at other times be constructive. It can obliterate old words as readily as it spawns new ones.[28]

[28] I completed much of the work on this chapter while participating in a National Endowment for the Humanities summer seminar in the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Michigan. I wish to thank Professor James Porter for organizing the seminar.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FOLKSY THERSITES
ΦΟΛΚΌΣ / (ἘΦ)ΌΛΚΌΣ

A memorable passage in Book 2 of the *Iliad* describes the physical features of Thersites, 'the ugliest man to come to the walls of Ilion,' in greater detail than those of any other character in the epic (2.212–19). But the traditional language of heroic epic was not so well equipped to describe his unheroic characteristics: the language is notably unformulaic, the passage is remarkably high in enjambement, and *hapax legomena* are extraordinarily frequent. One of these *hapax legomena* is the adjective φολκός used of Thersites at 2.217:

> Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μοῦνος ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῴα,
> ὃς ἔπεα φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ᾔδη
> μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν,
> ἀλλ' ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοίϊον Ἀργείοισιν
> ἔμμεναι· αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·
> φολκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τὼ δέ οἱ ὤμω
> κυρτὼ ἐπὶ στῆθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
> φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλήν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.

The adjective φολκός is an absolute *hapax legomenon* in the Greek language: it occurs only here and in some ancient scholia, lexica, and commentaries on this very passage. The ancients are almost unanimous in deriving the etymology of φολκός from ὁ τὰ φάη εἱλκυσμένος 'one who draws up the eyes,' i.e., a στραβός 'squinter.'[1] A minority draw upon the same etymology but conclude that the adjective describes someone who 'draws the eyes of others to oneself,' i.e., out of pity.[2] Finally, it is reported that some, for unexplained reasons, understood the adjective to mean 'circumcised.'[3] Though this ancient association of φολκός with φάη seems morphologically and phonetically unlikely

[1] The A scholia on *Il.* 2.217, Scholia Genevensi to *Il.* 2.217 (cf. T scholia on *Il.* 8.348), Apollonius Sophista, Herodian, Julius Pollux, Orion, Hesychius, Photius, *Suda*, *Et. Gud.*, *Et. Magn.*, *Zonaras*, *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.217.

[2] The bT scholia on *Il.* 2.217, *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.217.

[3] Reported by *Hesychius* sub φολκός-στραβός, οἱ δὲ λιπόδερμον. No explanation is given.

(for φα- + ἑλκ-, εἱλκ-, or ὁλκ- would not have resulted simply in the short omicron of φολκός), the association with ἕλκω ('draw' or 'drag') alone seems to have considerable merit, as I will argue below.

Modern lexicographers, commentators, and translators have largely abandoned the ancient view that φολκός refers to Thersites' eyes in favor of the view that it refers to his legs, and, more specifically, to the curvature of his legs, i.e., that he is 'bow-legged,' or 'bandy-legged,' or perhaps 'knock-kneed.'[4] This interpretation is primarily based on the context of the passage: i.e., the fact that the phrase is followed by a reference to Thersites' lameness, after which follow descriptions of the upper body and head. Of the various etymological cognates that are proposed—e.g., Greek φάλκης 'ribs of a ship,' φάλος 'boss of a helmet,' φαλός 'stupid,' φαλίπτειν 'to be stupid,' φαλωθείς 'turned aside,' and Latin *falx* 'curved blade' (hence *falco* 'someone whose toes are curved in'), *fallo*, *-ere* 'to mislead,' *valgus* 'knock-kneed'—none is both phonologically and morphologically sound and semantically attractive.[5] Moreover, most of these proposed cognates are no more explicable etymologically than φολκός. H. Frisk—*GEW* sub φολκός—is patently honest in declaring that the word is *unbekannter Bedeutung* and *ohne Etymologie*.

Yet, the modern view seems to be at least partially correct. The context of this Iliadic passage seems to call for the meaning 'dragging.' The lameness in Thersites' foot is the subject of the next clause, and then the description works its way up his body to his shoulders, chest, head,

[4] Uniquely, E. Lowry (1991) 107–156 continues to argue for the ancient view—the association of φολκός with eyes—in opposition to the modern view, most influentially articulated by P. Buttmann (1818) I 242–246, that φολκός must refer to the legs. Lowry perhaps places too much weight on the often naïve judgments of the ancient lexicographers, apparently to further his goal of connecting Thersites with other shame-causing squinters of Greek antiquity (e.g., the Litai, Aesop, Socrates). Buttmann's association of φολκός with the legs is in some form or another embraced by G. Curtius (1858–1862) 155 sub φαλκής; *Autenrieth* sub φολκός; *Ebeling* sub φολκός; *Boisacq* sub φολκός; P. Persson (1912) 757–758; *Cunliffe* sub φολκός; *LSJ* sub φολκός; *Leaf*, *Iliad* on 2.217; *Ameis*, *Iliad Commentary* on 2.217; *Monro*, *Iliad Commentary* on 2.217; *Pokorny* sub **ghwel-*; cf. the translations of R. Lattimore, R. Fagles, etc.

[5] P. Buttmann (1818) I 246 on φαλκής and *valgus* (assuming that the φ of φολκός is an outcome of an original digamma in (ϝ)ἕλκω); G. Curtius (1858–1862) 155 sub φαλκής on φάλκης, *falx*, *falco*; *Boisacq* sub φολκός on φάλος (assuming an origin in PIE labio-velar **ghwel-* 'to bend'); P. Persson (1912) 757–758 on φάλος, φαλός, φαλωθείς, and φαλίπτει (all from PIE **ghwel-*); *Leaf*, *Iliad* on 2.217 on φάλκης, *falx*, *falco*; *Ameis*, *Iliad Commentary* on 2.217 on *falx*, *falcones*; *Monro*, *Iliad Commentary* on 2.217 on *falx*; *Pokorny* sub **ghwel-* on φάλος and *fallo*, *-ere* (both from PIE **ghwel-*).

and hair (or lack thereof). Contextually φολκός should mean something like 'dragging' or 'trailing' the foot—in which case this adjective would be explained by the following clause: χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα (i.e., 'he was a foot-dragger, for he was lame in one of his two feet').[6] One is to visualize here the disgusting and ridiculous Thersites dragging his foot behind him, Philoctetes-like (Sophocles *Philoctetes* 291 ἐξέλκων πόδα), as he traces a furrow in the dirt.

Now for the crux of the etymology: whereas φολκός is utterly isolated lexically, a *hapax legomenon* that has no ascertainable etymology, we have in Greek two related words very similar to φολκός that mean exactly what the context of this passage calls for: ὁλκός/ὁλκαῖος 'dragging, trailing' and a compound form ἐφολκός 'lagging.' I propose that φολκός is a metanalyzed form of one of these.[7] The adjective ὁλκός/ὁλκαῖος is used often in Greek literature of something that is drawn or dragged: a ship being towed, a serpent tracing the earth, the tail of an animal, or even the feet, being dragged along the ground. In a hexameter passage of the epic poet Nonnus, for example, it is used of Typhoeus dragging his feet (*Dionysiaca* 1.184): ὁλκαίοις δὲ πόδεσσιν ἀνῃώρητο Τυφωεύς.

Homeric φολκός, then, could simply be a result of metanalysis in some such epic phrase as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ δ' (τ', γ') ἐφ' ὁλκαίοισι πόδεσσιν >
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ δὲ (τε, γε) φολκαίοισι πόδεσσιν

Here the dative with the preposition ἐπί, a not uncommon construction with πόδεσσιν, would have been understood as a simple instrumental, which in Homer is much more common. On the other hand, it does not seem very likely that an audience steeped in the epic tradition and attune to epic prosody would have metanalyzed a formulaic phrase in such a way as to result in a bisected dactylic hexameter verse, even though 'Fraenkel's Law' would not technically have been violated here, since the third foot would have had a caesura. Perhaps φολκός arose rather from some such phrase as:

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6 Here δέ explains the previous clause—one of its copulative usages, as, e.g., at *Il.* 2.196.

7 *Lobeck* I 137 was the first to make a connection between φολκός and ὁλκός, suggesting that a 'prothesis' of the consonant φ occurred here, and translating *qui pedes trahit*. J. Taillardat, *DELG* sub φολκός, makes a similar connection, but proposes instead an 'aphaeresis' of the vowel ε from the compound form ἐφ-ολκός. Neither explains how or why these changes might have occurred.

εἰσὶ πόδες σφ᾽ ὁλκοὶ ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × >
εἰσὶ πόδες φόλκοι ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×

Here the semantically dispensable dative of possession σφ᾽ would have been disregarded (cf. Homeric εἰσὶν μέν μοι παῖδες ἀμύμονες – ⏑ ⏑ / – × at *Il.* 10.170, εἰσὶν γάρ οἱ παῖδες ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – × at *Il.* 20.183, and εἰσί μοι ὀφθαλμοί τε καὶ οὔατα καὶ πόδες ἄμφω at *Od.* 20.365, but εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ Ἀχαιΐδες – ⏑ ⏑ / – × at *Od.* 21.251). The innovative φολκός, φολκαῖος would then have taken on a life of its own, outside the phonetic environment that created it, to appear in our *Iliad*'s description of Thersites at 2.217, and likely in other passages of epic as well that no longer happen to survive.

But it seems just as likely—perhaps more likely in some respects—that the metanalysis originated from a compound form ἐφολκός. We have a close cognate in another *hapax legomenon* in Homer: ἐφόλκαιον. This is apparently a technical term for some nautical implement—only here in this form in Greek—down which Odysseus, according to his false story to Eumaeus, disembarks the pirate ship that has brought him to Ithaca (*Od.* 14.350–51):

ξεστὸν ἐφόλκαιον καταβὰς ἐπέλασσα θαλάσσῃ
στῆθος.

The precise meaning of ἐφόλκαιον is unclear and is variously understood: a rudder (which is 'dragged' behind the ship, or, perhaps, which 'draws' the ship in a certain direction);[8] a lading plank (upon which cargo is 'dragged' on and off the ship, or which itself is 'drawn' on and off the ship);[9] a towing bar (which 'tows' a small boat behind the ship);[10] the small boat itself (which is 'towed' behind the ship).[11] The precise technical definition of ἐφόλκαιον is perhaps not ascertainable, but its etymology is nonetheless clear: something that 'tows' or 'is towed,' 'draws' or 'is drawn,' 'drags' or 'is dragged.' And the etymology of Homeric ἐφόλκαιον at *Od.* 14.350 may help support our understanding of Homeric φολκός at *Il.* 2.217 as a metanalyzed form meaning much

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[8] So scholia on *Od.* 14.350, Apollonius Sophista, Julius Pollux, Hesychius, Eustathius; cf. *LfgE* sub ἐφόλκαιον, with literature.

[9] So *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 14.350, *Hoekstra*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 14.350, with literature.

[10] So S. Mark (2005) 131–134, with literature.

[11] Reported as an ancient opinion by Apollonius Sophista. Cf. later Greek ἐφόλκιον, ἐφολκίς.

the same thing: 'dragging,' and, more specifically in this case, 'dragging one's foot.' Moreover, verbal cognates of ἐφολκός abound in Greek, including in Homer, and these verbal forms often appear associated with the feet: numerous times of dragging someone else by the feet (ἕλκε ποδός *Il.* 11.258; ποδὸς εἷλκε *Il.* 13.383; ὑφεῖλκε ποδοῖιν *Il.* 14.477; etc.), but also of dragging one's own feet along the ground, as in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 291 (δύστηνον ἐξέλκων πόδα) of Philoctetes dragging his injured foot behind him, and Euripides' *Phoenician Women* 303 (ἕλκω ποδὸς βάσιν) of Jocasta dragging her aged feet. But the most evocative parallel is in Homer's description of the funeral games for Patroclus in Book 23 of the *Iliad*, where Euryalos, knocked down with one blow by the boxer Epeios, is set upright again and helped off the field by his companions, spitting up blood, his head rolled to one side, 'with his feet dragging behind him' (*Il.* 23.696):

– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ἐφελκομένοισι πόδεσσι

A metanalysis of the adjectival form ἐφόλκος would be easy: e.g., after the ubiquitous particles and conjunctions δ', γ', τ', θ'. One can imagine, among a host of possibilities, a phrase similar to the description of Thersites at *Il.* 2.217 ὧς τότ' ἐφολκὸς ἐήν being metanalyzed as ὧς τότε φολκὸς ἐήν and then escaping the phonetic environment that created it to appear at *Il.* 2.217 as φολκὸς ἔην.[12]

In sum, in his long description of Thersites, Homer has highlighted his limp, which is a result of his lameness—φολκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα. This is perhaps intended to evoke in Homer's audience the story, later reported in the scholia, and there attributed to the 5th century Athenian historian Pherecydes, that Meleager crippled Thersites by throwing him down a precipice for his cowardly inaction during the hunt for the Calydonian boar (a tale that goes back to the pre-Homeric period, as attested in its telling at *Il.* 9.529–99).[13] This

[12] One might reasonably wonder if the preceding verse 2.216, which ends in ἦλθε, could have wielded any influence here. But whereas in recitations of Serbo-Croatian epic final syllables regularly spill over into the next verse, this does not appear to have been the case in the performance of Greek epic, where the spondaic/trochaic shape of the sixth foot brings the dactylic hexameter verse to a perceptible close.

[13] The A scholia on *Il.* 2.212 (= Pherecydes fr. 82): Φερεκύδης δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἕνα τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Καλυδώνιον κάπρον στρατευσάντων φησίν ἐκκλίνοντα δὲ τὴν τοῦ συὸς μάχην ὑπὸ Μελεάγρου κατακρημνισθῆναι· διὸ καὶ λελωβῆσθαι τὸ σῶμα. Cf. D scholia: Οἰνεῖ, ἀμελήσαντι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, θυσιῶν ἕνεκα ἡ θεὸς ὀργισθεῖσα, ἔπεμψε τῇ πόλει σῦν ἄγριον. ἐφ' ὃν ἦλθε στρατιὰ τῶν ἀρίστων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐπειδὴ ἐλυμαίνετο τὴν χώραν, ὥς φησιν αὐτὸς ὁ Ποιητὴς ἐν τῇ ι'. Μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ Θερσίτης. Ὃς δειλωθεὶς

evocation serves at least two functions. First, it reminds the audience of Thersites' previous cowardice in deed as an ironic counterpoint to his current verbal bravado, and thereby justifies Odysseus' subsequent public humiliation of him. Secondly, it draws a close parallel between Thersites and Hephaestus, the other great limper of the *Iliad*, who likewise was crippled as a result of being cast down from a height,[14] and who brings comic relief to a tense situation on divine Olympus in Book 1, just as Thersites does here on the mortal battlefield in Book 2.

κατέλειψε τὴν παραφυλακὴν ἐφ' ἧς ἦν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐπί τινα τόπον ὑψηλὸν, τὴν σωτηρίαν θηρώμενος. Ὀνειδιζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Μελεάγρου, ἐδιώκετο. καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν πεσὼν, τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο, οἷον Ὅμηρος αὐτὸν παρίστησιν. Cf. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.212: λέγοντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Καλυδώνιον κάπρον στρατεῦσαι αὐτόν· ὀκνοῦντα δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ ὑπεκκλίνοντα κατακρημνισθῆναι ὑπὸ Μελεάγρου καὶ οὕτω λωβηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα, καθάπερ ἐκφράζει ὁ ποιητής.

[14] So, apparently, the version of the story in *Il.* 1.586–94, although Hephaestus is already lame before a (second?) fall in the version in *Il.* 18.394–405.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

EPIC KNEES / EP' ICKNEES
ΓΝΥ- / ἸΓΝΥ-

The common Greek word for 'knee,' γόνυ, γόνατος, τό, has sterling Indo-European credentials: cognates in other Indo-European languages abound—Latin *genu*; Gothic *kniu*; Hittite *genu*; Sanskrit *jānu*, etc.—all pointing back to PIE **gonu-*. The word appears thousands of times in extant Greek texts, in many different forms and in various dialects. It is ubiquitous in Homer (122 times), where it occurs in the following third-declension neuter forms:

(absent in nominative singular)	γοῦνα and γούνατα
γουνός (from γονϝός) and γούνατος	γούνων
(absent in dative singular)	γούνασι(ν)/γούνεσσι(ν)
γόνυ	γοῦνα and γούνατα

In addition to these forms, a zero-grade form appears three times in Homer in the adverb πρόχνυ 'with the knee(s) forward' (literally) and six times in the adverb γνύξ 'on the knee(s),' both of which are probably fossilized forms of what was in origin a nominal form γνυ-.[1]

In the Homeric epics it is a word pregnant with meaning and rich in resonance. Destiny is said to lie on the knees of the gods (θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖσθαι), and it is on the gods' knees that offerings are placed (θεῖναι ἐπὶ γούνασι). Among both gods and mortals the knees are the objects to be clasped by a suppliant (λαβεῖν γούνων), whereby arise the denominatives γουνάζομαι and γουνοῦμαι. In the knees reside the special strength (μένος/βίη) and swiftness (λαιψηρὰ γούνατα) of the warrior; hence a wound to the knees (γούνατα λύειν) often entails death, or at least a great loss of strength and ability. Finally, parents are ideally portrayed setting their dear children on their knees (ἐπὶ γούνεσσι).[2]

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[1] So *Pokorny* sub **genu-, gneu-; Chantraine, Grammaire* I 250–251; *DELG* sub γόνυ and ἰγνύη; *GEW* sub ἰγνύη; B. Forssman (1965) 31; E.P. Hamp (1970) 73–74; A.J. Nussbaum (1986) 267–274.

[2] On the special sanctity attached to the knees in ancient Greek culture, see R.B. Onians (1951) 174–186; J.P. Gould (1973).

But this tidy lexical picture is blurred by the single appearance in Homer of another, rather strange-looking, reflex of the word: ἰγνύη, -ης, ἡ. An anonymous comrade of Idomeneus is described as having just returned from battle, carried by his comrades because he has been 'struck on the ἰγνύη by the sharp bronze' (*Il.* 13.212):

> Ἰδομενεὺς δ' ἄρα οἱ δουρικλυτὸς ἀντεβόλησεν
> ἐρχόμενος παρ' ἑταίρου, ὅ οἱ νέον ἐκ πολέμοιο
> ἦλθε κατ' ἰγνύην βεβλημένος ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ.
> τὸν μὲν ἑταῖροι ἔνεικαν.

Such a wound to the knee is thought of in Homer as particularly debilitating, as it deprives the warrior of his mobility. A similar circumstance is described later in the *Iliad* when Achilles stops the charging Trojan Demouchos in his tracks by 'striking him on the knee with a spear,' a wound that is a prelude to his death (*Il.* 20.458).

> Δημοῦχον δὲ Φιλητορίδην ἠΰν τε μέγαν τε
> κὰγ γόνυ δουρὶ βαλὼν ἠρύκακε. τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα
> οὐτάζων ξίφεϊ μεγάλῳ ἐξαίνυτο θυμόν·

The similar phrases κατ' ἰγνύην βεβλημένος ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ and κὰγ γόνυ δουρὶ βαλών seem to describe the same type of wound, and had the form ἰγνύη occurred only here in all of Greek we could still have been confident on morphological and semantic grounds that ἰγνύη and γόνυ were cognates.

In reality various forms of ἰγνύη appear some four-hundred times in Greek texts from the Archaic period to the Byzantine, a handful or two of times in poetry but mostly in prose, where it is often to be found in medical treatises (Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius, etc.) in describing the area behind the knee, i.e., the hollow of the knee, or, in medical jargon, the popliteal space. Yet there appears to have remained some confusion throughout these texts about the semantic range of ἰγνύη: some sources use the term more broadly to designate the general area around the knee, some more narrowly to designate the front of the knee, inside the knee, below the knee, the calf, the thigh, or the groin.

The word ἰγνύη appears from the earliest period in both first and third declension forms, and often even a single author will alternate back and forth between declensions without any apparent design:[3]

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[3] R.J. Durling (1993) 182 defines ἰγνύα, ἡ as 'the part behind the thigh and knee, ham,' but ἰγνύς, ἡ simply as 'knee.' However this differentiation is not consistently maintained in Galen, the subject of his study, and even less so in the earlier authors.

ἰγνύα, -ας, ἡ (Ionic ἰγνύη)

ἰγνύα/ἰγνύη	ἰγνύαι
ἰγνύας/ἰγνύης	ἰγνυῶν
(ἰγνύᾳ)/ἰγνύῃ	ἰγνύαις/ἰγνύῃσι[ν]
ἰγνύαν/ἰγνύην	ἰγνύας

ἰγνύς, -ύος, ἡ

ἰγνύς	ἰγνύες
ἰγνύος	ἰγνύων
ἰγνύι	ἰγνύσι[ν]
ἰγνύν	ἰγνύς

All these forms appear in Greek except ἰγνύᾳ. In addition there appears once, in Galen, an idiosyncratic neuter plural form: κατ᾽ ἰγνύα τε καὶ σφυρά. And the 15th century theologian Theodorus Agallianus twice offers a dual form: ἀμφοῖν ταῖν ἰγνύαιν.

In sum, while the morphological and semantic evidence in Homer seems compelling enough to conclude that ἰγνύη and γόνυ are cognates, a survey of the lexical history of these terms within their contexts in all of Greek literature serves to remove all doubt.

As we have observed, γόνυ is the inherited Indo-European form. It remains to remind ourselves that a zero-grade form also appears to have existed in Indo-European: Greek γνύξ and πρόχνυ, Sanskrit *pra-jñu-*, Gothic *kniu*, all pointing to PIE **gnu-* (cf. locative **gn-eu-*). In other words, there was very likely in the earliest period of the Greek language a zero-grade nominal form γνυ-.[4] We find corroborating evidence for this when we look more closely at the nine incidences of ἰγνυ- in the poetic tradition.

We have already looked at the single instance in Homer. Of the others, the earliest and most important is in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. After a day full of mischief the precocious infant Hermes retires to his cradle in his cave, wraps his swaddling clothes around his shoulders, and lies there playing with the coverlet 'about his knees' (*H.Herm.* 152):

ἐσσυμένως δ᾽ ἄρα λίκνον ἐπῴχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·
σπάργανον ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοις εἰλυμένος ἠΰτε τέκνον
νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι περ᾽ ἰγνύσι λαῖφος ἀθύρων
κεῖτο.

So read all modern editions of this text, save the most recent edition of M.L. West, who emends the reading to περὶ γνυσί—rightly in my

[4] See references in note 1.

view (as we shall see below).[5] The manuscript tradition is in fact divided between three renderings: περ᾽ ἰγνύσι, περιγνύσι, and παρ᾽ ἰγνύσι. The third reading, παρ᾽ ἰγνύσι, though it appears in the greatest number of manuscripts, is unlikely, for it is not an epic, or even poetic, construction. The preposition παρά does sometimes occur with forms of ἰγνυ- and γο(υ)ν- (though almost always in the accusative rather than dative case), but almost exclusively in the prose of the medical writers (Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, etc.) to describe the tendons, bones, and blood vessels that run along the knees.[6]

The preposition περί, on the other hand, occurs regularly with forms of ἰγνυ- and γο(υ)ν-, not just in the medical writers but in prose generally, and not just in prose but also in poetry. Most importantly, περί followed by a dative form of ἰγνυ- or γο(υ)ν-, as in the passage in the *Hymn to Hermes* under consideration, is a very common dactylic hexameter construction (Homer,[7] Euripides, Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Oppian, Quintus, Nonnus, Anthologia Graeca, etc.). Surely περί rather than παρά is to be understood also here in the *Hymn to Hermes*.

Of the two readings that have περί, the first, περ᾽ ἰγνύσι, appears in several manuscripts and was also privileged in the 1488 *editio princeps* of Demetrios Chalcondyles, which was subsequently followed by later editions. But it is an unlikely reading, for the preposition περί never elides elsewhere in epic poetry, and other than two instances in Pindar, one in Theocritus (but on this see below), and one in the Greek Anthology, the preposition does not elide in Greek poetry generally.[8] Even in Greek prose elision of περί is very rare and very late.

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5 M.L. West (2003) 124–125, following B. Forssman (1965) 30–31.

6 The only remarkable exception to this occurs in Strabo (13.1.41), who mentions an ancient controversy regarding the wooden statue of Athena in Troy. This wooden statue, which had fallen from the heavens and after the sack of Troy was thought to have been brought to the Greek mainland, was a standing statue, whereas Homer was apparently describing a seated statue in the *Iliad*, for the Trojans offer a peplos to Athena by laying it 'upon the knees' of the statue (Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο). As a result 'some' (τινές), as Strabo relates, ignorantly preferred at *Il.* 6.92 (cf. 6.273, 303) the reading παρὰ γούνασιν to ἐπὶ γούνασιν (which is found in all extant manuscripts); Strabo asserts that an offering 'beside the knees' (παρὰ γούνασιν) of the statue would have been unthinkable. For other ancient references to the controversy, see scholia on *Il.* 6.92, *Hesychius* sub ἐπὶ γούνασι, and Eustathius on *Il.* 6.92.

7 A few manuscripts read ποτὶ γούνασι rather than περὶ γούνασι at *Od.* 6.310.

8 *Allen, Iliad* misprints the common construction περ ἔμπης as περ᾽ ἔμπης at *Il.* 15.399.

The second reading, περιγνύσι, which appears in a couple of manuscripts, is evasive, since it simply obviates the difficulties of word division by inventing an unlikely compound. But it shows the way to what should probably be regarded as the true reading: περὶ γνυσί (i.e., a zero-grade nominal form, as in πρόχνυ and γνύξ).[9] That is to say, it appears that a zero-grade form of γονύ, i.e., γνυ- (as here in *H.Herm.* 152), survived in the poetic tradition side by side with its biform ἰγνυ- (as in *Il.* 13.212). And it appears that it survived in the vernacular as well, if we may trust the testimony of (Pseudo-?) Herodian and Hesychius, who preserve several evocative compounds of γνυ- and πίπτω: γνυπτεῖν = ἀσθενεῖν 'to be weak'; γνυπετόν = ἀργόν 'lazy' (cf. γνυπῶ, γνύπωνες, γνύπετοι, κατεγνυπτῶσθαι). Γνυ- is the form, then, that should be read here in the *Hymn to Hermes* (i.e., περὶ γνύσι).

Further support for this is found in what is probably the earliest of the remaining seven incidences of ἰγνυ- in Greek poetry, all of which fall in the Hellenistic period or later. A poem attributed to Theocritus contains the formula περ' ἰγνύῃσιν in describing a lion lashing its tail 'about its knees' (*Idyll* 25.242):

> θὴρ ἄμοτος, μακρὴν δὲ περ' ἰγνύῃσιν ἕλιξε
> κέρκον.

The formula περ' ἰγνύῃσιν here is of course subject to the same diagnosis as the formula περ' ἰγνύσι in the *Hymn to Hermes*: i.e., that since περί never elides in epic poetry, and other than in two instances in Pindar, and one in the Greek Anthology, περί does not elide in Greek poetry generally, περὶ γνύῃσιν should be read here, just as περὶ γνυσί in the *Hymn to Hermes*. What are the odds, after all, of the only two instances of elided περ' in all of Greek dactylic hexameter poetry (other than the phrase περ' ἐμεῖο in a late poem in the Greek Anthology) happening to be followed by the same word, and, what is more, that word beginning with an iota, and, what is even more, that word having a biform that does not include the iota?[10]

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[9] So the Indo-European instrumental **gnubhi* > *γνυφί and locative **gnusu* > γνυσί. See B. Forssman (1965) 30–31; E.P. Hamp (1970) 74; O. Szemerényi (1971) 671; *LfgE* sub γόνυ.

[10] It is of course possible to overcome these odds by assuming that Theocritus' περ' ἰγνύῃσιν is a slavish imitation of an incorrectly divided text in a Hellenistic manuscript of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (so B. Forssman [1965] 30). But the completely different contexts of the two passages—an infant in a cradle playing with a coverlet about his knees; a hunted lion lashing its tail about its knees—argues against this.

If we read περὶ γνυσί in the *Hymn to Hermes* and περὶ γνύῃσιν in Theocritus, it may also be advisable to read the zero-grade form γνυ- (i.e., ἐπὶ γνύης rather than ἐπ' ἰγνύης) in a third poem, an elegy from the Greek Anthology, describing a certain Menippus who used to draw his dress up to his knee (12.176.2):

> ὁ πρὶν ἐπ' ἰγνύης λῶπος ἀνελκόμενος.
> (*P* reads ἀπ' ἰγνύης)

In the remaining five poems in which forms of ἰγνυ- appear, however, the reading seems to be correct: ἐς ἰγνύαν in Theocritus *Idyll* 26.17; ἄχρις ἰγνύων in Herodas' *Mime* 1.14; ἐν βουβῶνι καὶ ἰγνύσιν in Nicander's *Theriaca* 278; ἰγνύας τε διακρίνοντ' Ὀφιούχου in Manetho's *Apotelesmatica* 2.90; and ἰγνύην φοῖνιξ πέπλος ἑλισσόμενος in the Greek Anthology 16.253.4.

This brings us to the critical question. It appears that zero-grade nominal forms γνύς and γνύα(η), examples of which we have seen in the *Hymn to Hermes*, Theocritus *Idylls*, and perhaps in the Greek Anthology, survived side by side in the poetic tradition with ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η), examples of which we have seen in Homer, Theocritus, Herodas, Nicander, Manetho, and the Greek Anthology. Since γνυ- is clearly the inherited Indo-European form, how can we explain the prefixed iota of ἰγνυ-?

This 'prefix' has been explained in various ways since antiquity. The consensus of the ancients was that ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) were derived from the verb ἱκνεῖσθαι, since the knees are what allow us 'to go,' 'to walk,' 'to move.' The bT scholia on *Il.* 13.212 simply record this etymology without explication: ἰγνύη—τὸ ὀπίσω μέρος τοῦ γόνατος, παρὰ τὸ ἱκνεῖσθαι. Orion, the 5th c. A.D. grammarian, clarifies a bit (sub ἰγνύα): Ἰγνύα—τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ γόνατος, ἐπεὶ αἴτιον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἱκνεῖσθαι, ὅ ἐστι πορεύεσθαι. Eustathius, on *Il.* 13.212, approves this etymology by explaining that it is by virtue of bending the 'knee' (ἰγνύη) that we are able 'to walk' (ἱκνούμεθα), though he remains a bit troubled by the different breathings in the two words:

> Ἰγνύη δὲ τὸ κατόπιν ἤτοι ὀπίσω μέρος τοῦ γόνατος, ὅπερ καὶ ἀγκύλη λέγεται. γίνεται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱκνεῖσθαι, ἱκνύη τις οὖσα, ἐπεὶ καμπτομένης αὐτῆς ἱκνούμεθα. Εἰ δὲ ψιλοῦται ἡ ἄρχουσα τῆς ἰγνύης, οὐ καινόν. λείπει γὰρ τὸ κ τὸ τὴν δασεῖαν προκαλούμενον, [καθὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἴχνος καὶ ἴχνιον.]

This is all, of course, naive folk etymologizing. Ἰγνύη is a biform of γόνυ, from PIE **gonu-*. Ἱκνεῖσθαι and its large family of cognates in

Greek are derived from a different root altogether: PIE **seyk-* ('to reach for').[11]

Some modern scholars—e.g., K. Brugmann—have suggested that the iota of ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) had its origins in *ϝι-γνύ- 'on the other side of the knee,' adducing Sanskrit *vi-* 'away from.' Hence, ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) would mean 'opposite the knee.'[12] But this is untenable, since the word formation is utterly unique, and since ἰγνύη shows no trace of digamma in Homer. This seed falls on utterly infertile ground.[13]

Many modern scholars—e.g., E.R. Wharton, A. Meillet, F. Wood—have explained the iota of ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) as a 'prothetic vowel,' in the same category, for example, as ἰκτίς and ἰχθῦς.[14] But Greek prothetic vowels are usually, perhaps exclusively, limited to /e/, /a/, and /o/ in initial position before resonant consonants, consonant clusters, and semivowels (/l m n r w y st khth/). So this is not a normal phonetic environment for the development of a prothetic vowel. Moreover, there is no comparative evidence whatsoever—e.g., an analogue in Armenian or Phrygian, which in some cases share such protheses with Greek—to suggest that the iota of ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) is prothetic. In the absence of any other ready explanation for the iota, philologists have here, as elsewhere, too quickly fallen back on this solution of last resort, which in this case simply describes an outcome rather than offering an explanation of what happened and why it happened.

A much more solidly grounded proposal is that ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) are compounds that include a prepositional prefix. Some have attempted to trace this compound's origins all the way back to PIE **en-gnu-* 'in/on the knee.'[15] But there is no support from cognates in other Indo-European languages or in the testimony of the Linear B documents that the compound goes back any earlier than the post-Mycenaean to pre-Homeric period during which much of the epic *Kunstsprache* was taking shape. Therefore H. Frisk, P. Chantraine, and others before them—G. Curtius, F. Solmsen, H. Ebeling, É. Boisacq, J. Pokorny, and

[11] Cf. *Pokorny* sub **seik-*.

[12] K. Brugmann (1904) 493–494.

[13] Brugmann's proposal is aptly criticized by F. Solmsen (1909) 215, n. 1 and A. Meillet (1926) 131.

[14] E.R. Wharton (1882) 137 adduces ἰκτῖνος, ἰκτίς, and ἰχθῦς; A. Meillet (1926) 131 adduces ἰκτίς and ἰχθῦς, among many others not beginning with iota; F.A. Wood (1931) 127–129 adduces ἰαύω, ἴγνητες, ἴκταρ, ἴκτερος, ἰκτῖνος, ἰκτίς, ἰπνός, ἵππος, ἴσχω, and ἰχθῦς.

[15] So B. Forssman (1965) 28, A.J. Nussbaum (1986) 267.

J.B. Hofmann—are on much firmer ground in deriving ἰγνύα(η) from a uniquely Greek compound ἐν + γνύη 'a place on the knee,' and, more specifically, 'behind the knee' or 'the bend of the knee.'[16] They propose that the secondary form ἰγνύς is created by analogy with words for other body parts (ἰξυς, ὀσφύς).[17] Chantraine explains that the position of ἐν before a nasal allows the phonetic change of ε to ι, offering as an analogue Ἴγνητες, the name of the ancient inhabitants of Rhodes (so Apollonius Dyscolus, Hesychius, etc.), which he derives from ἐν- + -γνητος.[18] But one may reasonable object that, in the first place, ἐν + γνύ- results semantically in 'on the knee' or 'in the knee,' not 'behind the knee,' which is its usual meaning. Secondly, the normal outcome of ἐν + γνύ- in most Greek dialects would be ἐγγνύ- (cf. ἐν + γαῖα > ἔγγαιος; ἐν + γενέτης > ἐγγενέτης; and n.b. ἐν + γόνασιν > Ἐγγόνασιν). Chantraine's proposal of a phonetic shift here from ε to ι before a nasal is unlikely. While such a shift before nasals is common in Latin, Germanic, and other languages, is not normal in most dialects of Greek: e.g., Latin *in, tingo, quinque*; Greek ἐν, τέγγω, πέντε.

R. Janko agrees with Chantraine's etymology and analogy with Ἴγνητες, but, perhaps taking a cue from P. Kretschmer, he explains ἰν as the Arcado-Cyprian form of ἐν. And he understands the wound described in *Il.* 13.212 (κατ' ἰγνύην βεβλημένος ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ) as being in the back of the knee, explaining the shameful location of the wound as a result of the earlier rout of the Achaeans.[19] However the distribution of ἰγνυ- in Greek does not point to an Arcado-Cyprian origin. Arcado-Cyprian forms do appear a few times in fossilized phrases embedded in traditional epic diction where metrically useful (e.g., Hermes' traditional epithet ἐριούνιος; the epic conjunction ἰδέ), but outside these very limited contexts they largely cease to be used. Arcado-Cyprian forms appear also, of course, in inscriptions from Arcadia and Cyprus, as well as in a few glosses of the ancient grammarians and lexicogra-

[16] *GEW* and *DELG* sub ἰγνύη; G. Curtius (1858–1862) 164, who adduces *ἐγ + γνύ-; F. Solmsen (1909) 214–215, who traces it back to an early Greek *ἐγ-γνύα, *ἐγ-γνύς (not all the way back to PIE), with ε > ι before the nasal; so also *Ebeling* sub ἰγνύη, *Boisacq* sub ἰγνύη, *Hofmann* sub ἰγνύη, and *Pokorny* sub **genu-*, *gneu-*.

[17] Cf., also, B. Forssman (1965) 29, who invokes γένυς, δελφύς, ἰξύς, νηδύς, ὀσφύς, and ὀφρῦς; he considers the form Hellenistic (overlooking its occurrences in Hippocrates and Aristotle, as well as, of course, the *Hymn to Hermes*, which he considers, rightly, an incorrect reading).

[18] On this shift in some Greek dialects, see *Schwyzer* I 275.

[19] P. Kretschmer (1890) 376–377; *Janko, Commentary* on *Il.* 13.212.

phers. However what we see in the distribution of ἰγνυ- in Greek is wide-spread use, especially in prose, in many dialects, esp. Ionic in the early period, but in all dialects in later Greek. It would seem very odd that an obscure Arcado-Cyprian form, even if introduced into other dialects, would generate this distribution. Also, I am not so sure that a wound from the front is impossible, or even improbable, here at *Il.* 13.212. If it were not for the later specialized sense 'the area behind the knee' (i.e., 'popliteal space') witnessed in the medical writers, one would not be inclined to think that this Homeric wound was inflicted on the back of the knee during a rout of the victim. For elsewhere in Homer, as we have already observed, the Trojan Demouchos is wounded on the front of his knee by a spear cast while he is advancing (*Il.* 20.458): κὰγ γόνυ δουρὶ βαλὼν ἠρύκακε. And very similar language and word order is used in a formulaic phrase describing a spear or arrow cast at the front of a warrior's chest: κατὰ στῆθος βάλε δουρί (*Il.* 11.108; 13.186; 15.420); κατὰ στῆθος βάλεν ἰῷ (*Il.* 8.303; 13.586).

Faced with the biforms γνυ- and ἰγνυ-, and in the absence of any convincing explanation for the iota of the latter, one may reasonably ask if a junctural metanalysis of the type we have been examining in this work can explain the form? If so, it probably occurred in a phonetic environment where there was a preceding preposition that was mistakenly construed to have suffered elision (e.g., ἀμφὶ γνυ- > ἀμφ' ἰγνυ-, ἀντὶ γνυ- > ἀντ' ἰγνυ-; ἐπὶ γνυ- > ἐπ' ἰγνυ-), or where there existed a biform that ended in iota (e.g., ἐνὶ γνυ- > ἐν ἰγνυ-; προτὶ γνυ- > πρὸς ἰγνυ-). In the case of the latter, we can even imagine the metanalysis being stimulated by historical developments in the Greek dialects: as προτί gave way to πρός, for example, the metanalysis would have served to preserve the formula.

Our surviving corpus of ancient Greek, both poetry and prose, provides many examples of collocations of prepositions plus various forms of the word for 'knee' that could at some earlier time have provided an opportunity for such a junctural metanalysis, and there once must have been many more such collocations (now lost to us). Of these, the collocations with the preposition ἐπί (i.e., 'upon the knee[s]') seem to me to provide the likeliest avenue for junctural metanalysis (cf. ἐπ' ἰγνύης in a dactylic pentameter verse in the Greek Anthology 12.176.2; ἐπ' ἰγνύας, ἐπ' ἰγνύων, and ἐπ' ἰγνύαν in the prose of the medical writers).

Given the high incidence of occurrences of ἰγνύς and ἰγνύα(η) in Greek prose (some four-hundred times), I assume that a metanalysis

occurred at some point also in the evolution of the Greek vernacular that may have been independent of its development in the epic *Kunstsprache*. But since I am concerned here primarily with metanalysis in the evolution of epic diction, with a view to explaining forms in Homer, I will concentrate on what I believe to be the most likely avenue for metanalysis in the epic *Kunstsprache* in particular. That would be the collocations of the preposition ἐπί with various forms of the dative plural (i.e., 'upon the knee[s]'). One may instructively compare Homeric:

θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο (*Il.* 6.92)
τὸν θὲς Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο (*Il.* 6.273)
θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠϋκόμοιο (*Il.* 6.303)
Ἀστυάναξ, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἑοῦ ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς (*Il.* 22.500)
τόν ῥά οἱ Εὐρύκλεια φίλοισ' ἐπὶ γούνασι θῆκε (*Od.* 19.401)
ἑζομένη δὲ κατ' αὖθι, φίλοισ' ἐπὶ γούνασι θεῖσα (*Od.* 21.55)

This is a formula that continues to flourish in the post-Homeric hexameter tradition: Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Batrachomyomachia, Sybiline Oracles, Greek Anthology, Nonnus, etc.

I propose that at some time during the height of the development of the epic *Kunstsprache* there existed an entire family of formulas that included the collocation ἐπί plus a dative plural form of γουν- and γνυ-. This family of formulas took advantage of the various forms of the word to create a metrically useful system that would have looked something like this:[20]

1. ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ ἐπὶ γόνϝασι (ἐπὶ γούνασι in Homer 6×)
2. ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – ἐπὶ γόνϝεσσιν + C (γούνεσσιν in Homer 3×)
3. ⏑ / – – / – ἐπὶ γνύῃσ' + V (cf. ἰγνύην at *Il.* 13.212; [ἰ]γνύῃσιν at Theocritus *Idyll* 25.242; ἐπ' [ἰ]γνύης at Greek Anthology 12.176.2)
4. ⏑ / – – / – ⏑ ἐπὶ γνύῃσι(ν) (cf. above; note that ἐπὶ γνύῃσιν + C with the metrical shape ⏑ / – – / – – /, would not be easily accommodated in epic verse)
5. ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ ἐπὶ γνυσί (cf. [ἰ]γνύσι at *H.Herm.* 152)

This family of formulaic phrases uses all three early forms of 'knee'—γόνυ, γνύη, and γνύς—and it creates a formulaic system that is characterized, to use Milman Parry's terms, by both 'economy' and 'scope': economy inasmuch as none of the ἐπί + dative plural combinations have

[20] Note that the naturally short upsilon of γνύσι is to be lengthened *metri causa* in γνύῃσι, as demonstrated in all the attested poetic forms of ἰγνύη.

the same metrical shape; scope inasmuch as many of the most common metrical spaces of the dactylic hexameter verse are represented by the shapes of these formulas:

1. ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ Two common metrical spaces: penthemimeral caesura to bucolic diaeresis; hephthemimeral caesura to end of fifth foot.
2. ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – Three common metrical spaces: first-foot masculine caesura to penthemimeral caesura; second-foot masculine caesura to hephthemimeral caesura; penthemimeral caesura to fifth-foot masculine caesura.
3. ⏑ / – – / – Two common metrical spaces: first-foot trochaic caesura to penthemimeral caesura; third-foot trochaic caesura to fifth-foot masculine caesura.
4. ⏑ / – – / – ⏑ Two common metrical spaces: first-foot trochaic caesura to third-foot trochaic caesura; third-foot trochaic caesura to fifth-foot trochaic caesura.
5. ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ One common metrical space: third-foot trochaic caesura to bucolic diaeresis.

Certain members of this formulaic family—ἐπὶ γνύῃσι(ν), ἐπὶ γνυσί—were obviously ripe for metanalysis as ἐπ᾽ ἰγνύῃσι(ν), ἐπ᾽ ἰγνυσί, as manifested in the many later forms in ἰγνύα(η) and ἰγνύς in the poetic tradition, and in the Greek language generally, beginning, in the earliest surviving instance, at *Il.* 13.212:

ἦλθε κατ᾽ ἰγνύην βεβλημένος ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ.

As far as the epic tradition is concerned, then, metanalysis of γνυ- in its various forms had begun to occur in the epic *Kunstsprache* some time before the composition of the *Iliad*. There is no evidence to show whether the metanalysis in the vernacular occurred side by side with epic, or whether it took a separate and independent track.[21]

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[21] This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Glotta* (see S. Reece [2009c]).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

HOMERIC HEADDRESSES AND CITADELS
ΚΑΤᾺ ΚΡΗ͂ΘΕΝ / ΚΑΤ’ ἌΚΡΗΣ

In his fascinating monograph *Spontaneity and Tradition* Michael Nagler observed that κρήδεμνον, -α is used in Greek epic poetry not only of the headdress of a woman but of the battlements of a citadel.[1] He noted, as an aside, that as in the literary arts, so in the plastic arts, and especially in Greek vase painting, a woman's headdress could markedly resemble the crenellations of a city's battlements (see Illustration III). This dual signification yields a rich symbolism: the removal of a woman's headdress (in the case of Andromache, for example) is symbolic of the destruction of a city's battlements (in the case of Troy, for example). A city that loses its battlements is 'violated' militarily just as a woman who loses her headdress is 'violated' sexually. The sad events of ancient history have recorded for posterity that the one followed all too naturally on the other.

Nagler is concerned here with semantics: the resonance that results from the dual signification of the word κρήδεμνον. Following up on some loosely related observations of Manu Leumann,[2] I wish to marshal support for this semantic association from some complementary etymological evidence of a relationship between the epic formula κατὰ κρῆθεν (earlier κατ’ ἄκρηθεν), which is most often used in reference to the hanging of a woman's headdress, and κατ’ ἄκρης, which is most often used in reference to the destruction of a city's citadel. I propose that in origin the two formulas are etymologically identical, the earlier κατ’ ἄκρηθεν, a metrically useful alternative to the semantically equivalent κατ’ ἄκρης (cf. ἀπ’ οὐρανόθεν / ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ), having been metanalyzed as κατὰ κρῆθεν during the pre-Homeric oral/aural transmission of the epics owing at least in part to a perceived semantic association with the root κάρ- 'head' found also in κρήδεμνον. As such the formula κατ’ ἄκρηθεν, later κατὰ κρῆθεν, can be included

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[1] M.N. Nagler (1974) 10–11, 44–60, which is a recapitulation of his earlier *TAPA* article (1967) 279–280, 298–307.

[2] M. Leumann (1960) 56–58.

among our fairly substantial collection of formulaic phrases that were misheard and then metanalyzed at their elidible word junctures during this oral/aural stage of epic transmission.

The formula κατὰ κρῆθεν, which occurs once in the *Iliad*, once in the *Odyssey*, and three times in other early epic verse, has from antiquity to the present commonly been understood as the preposition κατά 'down from' followed by a compound of κάρη 'head' and the suffix -θεν 'from,' i.e., 'down from the head.'[3] This makes good sense semantically in the context of two of the five passages, but in the other three the formula is better translated more broadly 'from head to toe,' more figuratively 'from top to bottom,' or more simply 'utterly.'

At *Il.* 16.548 an unrelenting grief seizes the Trojans κατὰ κρῆθεν when they hear of the death of the Lycian hero Sarpedon:

> Ὣς ἔφατο, Τρῶας δὲ κατὰ κρῆθεν λάβε πένθος
> ἄσχετον.
> (many mss. record κατ' ἄκρηθεν or κατάκρηθεν)

Here already in its earliest surviving occurrence we can witness a loose, or even figurative, use of the formula: it is perhaps best translated simply 'utterly'—'unrelenting grief seized the Trojans utterly.' Yet the poet, in portraying the physical result of intense grief on the human body, seems to be evoking a perceived etymological association of the formula with κάρη 'head.' In spite of the competing manuscript variants κατ' ἄκρηθεν and κατάκρηθεν, we should read κατὰ κρῆθεν here.[4] The grieving Trojans have κράατα 'heads,' not ἄκραι 'heights'; ἄκρη is not used of humans in Homer.[5]

At *Od.* 11.588 the lofty trees of Hades pour down their fruit κατὰ κρῆθεν to tempt the frustrated Tantalos:

> δένδρεα δ' ὑψιπέτηλα κατὰ κρῆθεν χέε καρπόν
> (most mss. record κατ' ἄκρηθεν or κατάκρηθεν)

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[3] So scholia on *Il.* 16.548, *Od.* 5.313, and Hesiod *Theogony* 574; *Hesychius* sub κατὰ κρῆθεν; *Suda* sub κατακρῆθεν; *Et. Gud.* sub κατακρῆθεν; *Et. Magn.* sub κατακρῆθεν; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 13.772, 16.548, and *Od.* 11.588; *Ebeling* sub κρῆθεν; *Autenrieth* sub κατά-κρηθεν; *Cunliffe* sub κρῆθεν; *LSJ* sub κράς; *Leaf, Iliad* on 16.548; *Monro, Iliad Commentary* on 16.548; *Stanford, Commentary* on *Od.* 11.588.

[4] And in spite of the proposal by some modern scholars that we should read ἄκρηθεν in the *Iliad*, perhaps in the *Odyssey*, and possibly even in the *Hymn to Demeter*, but κρῆθεν elsewhere (so M. Leumann [1950] 56–58; *LfgE* sub ἄκρηθεν; *Janko, Commentary* on *Il.* 16.548).

[5] So *M.L. West, Iliad* on 16.548 and M.L. West (2001) 239.

Here, in a section of Odysseus' *katabasis* that is widely acknowledged as a late, even post-Homeric, addition to the tale,[6] κατὰ κρῆθεν seems to mean 'down from the top,' or even more loosely 'down from above,' with no apparent association with κάρη 'head.' This disjuncture between context and etymology perhaps explains the preference of many manuscripts for κατ' ἄκρηθεν = κατ' ἄκρης 'down from the height.'

In the *Hymn to Demeter* 182 the mourning goddess is described covered κατὰ κρῆθεν, with her *peplos* trailing about her feet:

> – – / ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὄπισθε φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ
> στεῖχε κατὰ κρῆθεν κεκαλυμμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος
> κυάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεᾶς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν.
> (the single medieval ms. of *H.Dem.* records κατ' ἄκρηθεν)

The manuscript reading κατ' ἄκρηθεν 'down from the height' is inept in this context. The undoubtedly correct reading κατὰ κρῆθεν is best understood in physical terms—'down from the head' or 'from head to toe'—the reference to Demeter's presumably veiled κάρη 'head' being strengthened by the subsequent reference to the robe that reaches all the way down to her ποσσίν 'feet.'

In a similar context in Hesiod's *Theogony* 574 Athena dresses and adorns the newly created Pandora by placing upon her a veil κατὰ κρῆθεν:

> ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
> ἀργυφέῃ ἐσθῆτι· κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλύπτρην
> δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι·
> (a correction in one ms. records κατ' ἄκρηθεν)

The formula here clearly refers to Pandora's veiled κάρη 'head.'

Similarly in a fragment from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (West and Merkelbach fr. 23a line 23), which survives in a single fragmentary manuscript (P.Oxy. 2075), Artemis, having saved Iphimede (i.e., Iphigeneia) from the hands of the Achaeans, pours ambrosia upon her κατὰ κρῆ[θεν:

> – – / – αὐτὴν δ' ἐλαφηβό]λος ἰοχέαιρα
> ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐξεσά[ωσε, καὶ ἀ̣μβροσ]ίην [ἐρ]ατε̣[ινὴν
> στάξε κατὰ κρῆ[θεν, ἵνα οἱ χ]ρὼς [ἔ]μπε[δ]ο̣[ς] ε̣[ἴη,
> θῆκεν δ' ἀθάνατο[ν καὶ ἀγήρ]αον ἤμα̣[τα πάντα.
> (an original παρακρη[has been corrected in the papyrus to κατακρη[)

[6] The extensive literature on this topic is collected in *Heubeck, Commentary* Vol. II: 75–77, 111.

Again, the context makes clear that the formula is referring to Iphimede's κάρη 'head.'

Finally, it is instructive to consider the Hesiodic *Scutum* 7, where Alkmene's beauty is catalogued, and the charm that wafts ἀπὸ κρῆθεν 'from her head' and from her dark eyes is compared favorably to that of Aphrodite:

> τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρῆθεν βλεφάρων τ' ἄπο κυανεάων
> τοῖον ἄηθ' οἷόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Here the (modified) formula can only mean 'from her head.' There are no recorded manuscript variants, and the extension of κατὰ κρῆθεν to ἀπὸ κρῆθεν shows that at least by the time of the composition of the *Scutum* κρῆθεν had become a legitimate word in its own right, now usable outside the formula that spawned it (as I will show below). There is no longer any possibility that we are dealing simply with a manuscript variant.

To summarize the primary evidence, then, the epic formula κατὰ κρῆθεν, though used somewhat loosely or figuratively in the two passages of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, seems to refer specifically and literally to κάρη 'head' in all the non-Homeric passages inasmuch as they describe concrete details of the human physiognomy. The formula κατὰ κρῆθεν has acquired an almost complete semantic overlap with the equally traditional formula κὰκ κεφαλῆς (5x Homer).

There are several difficulties, however, with the etymologizing of κρῆθεν as κάρη 'head' plus -θεν 'from.' First, morphologically κάρη plus -θεν should result not in κρῆθεν but in a form built on the actual noun stem: e.g., καρητόθεν (cf. scholia on *Il.* 16.548).[7] One may marshal in support the outcome in Homer when the suffix -θεν is combined with other third declension nouns and adjectives: πάντοθεν (9x Homer), Διόθεν (3x Homer), πατρόθεν (*Il.* 10.68), ἁλόθεν (*Il.* 21.335), παιδόθεν (vulgate reading for *Od.* 13.295). In short, κρῆθεν is morphologically anomalous. Second, the distribution of κρῆθεν raises suspicion: it occurs these six times in early epic verse and then never again in the Greek language other than in ancient commentaries and lexica referring to these very passages; also, it occurs only after κατά, with the single exception of ἀπὸ κρῆθεν in the *Scutum*. In other words, it is

[7] Or possibly καρηατόθεν, κραατόθεν, κρατόθεν, κράτεσθεν (cf. *Il.* 10.156 κράτεσφι, though itself morphologically anomalous). So M. Lejeune (1939) 58–59, 81–84; M. Leumann (1950) 57; A.J. Nussbaum (1986) 74–75.

utterly isolated lexically. Third, κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν is recorded instead of κατὰ κρῆθεν in at least some manuscripts of every passage in which the formula occurs.

To recapitulate, the word is morphologically anomalous, and, more interesting for our purposes, it is lexically isolated; the conflicting testimony of the ancient manuscripts about the correct reading is a reflection of these difficulties. In all likelihood we are dealing here with a word that has suffered some sort of junctural metanalysis. Given its regular position after κατά in all but one instance, a phonetic temptation for metanalysis readily presents itself (i.e., elision or lack of elision of the final syllable of κατά). A strong semantic motivation for metanalysis also presents itself, as I will now proceed to argue.

The path to an understanding of the etymology of κρῆθεν runs squarely through the epic expression κατ᾽ ἄκρης, which occurs five times in Homer. It is commonly translated adverbially as 'utterly,' both in Homer and, especially, in its many later occurrences both in Greek poetry and prose. But in Homer, at least, it seems to mean something more concrete and specific: 'down from the height (of the city).' I add my support to the proposal offered by M. Leumann and since accepted by many Homeric scholars that κατὰ κρῆθεν is a 'resegmentation,' 'reinterpretation,' 'misunderstanding,' or 'misanalysis' (i.e., 'metanalysis') of an earlier κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν, which is little more than a metrically useful biform of κατ᾽ ἄκρης. That is to say, in origin κρῆθεν had no etymological connection to κάρη 'head' but rather to ἄκρη 'height.'[8]

The root ἀκ- has sterling Indo-European credentials.[9] It manifests itself in many Homeric forms: ἀκμή, ἄκων, ἀκωκή, etc. The various adjectival forms of ἄκρος, -η, -ον (with the same liquid suffix seen in Latin *acer*, *acris*, *acre*) occur numerous times in Homer, commonly describing the summit of a mountain, the tip of a headland, cape, promontory, or beach, the top of a tree, the point of a spear, the crest of

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[8] So, more or less: M. Leumann (1950) 56–58 (prefers to read κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν in the Iliadic passage and expresses the relationship between it and the Odyssean and Hesiodic passages in analytic terms); N. Richardson (1974) on *H.Dem.* 182; *GEW* sub ἄκρος, κάρα, and κρη-θεν; *DELG* sub ἀκ- and κάρα; *LfgE* sub ἄκρηθεν (prefers to read ἄκρηθεν in the two Homeric passages and in *H.Dem*, but κρῆθεν in the others, where the notion of a 'head' is explicit); A.J. Nussbaum (1986) 74–75; *Hainsworth*, *Odyssey Commentary* on 5.313; *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 16.548 (prefers to read ἄκρηθεν in the two Homeric passages, but κρῆθεν in the others, designating the latter "bardic reinterpretations"); M.L. West (2001) 239.

[9] Cf. *Pokorny* sub **ak*-; *DELG* sub ἀκ-.

a helmet, and the extremities of the body (hands, feet, head, shoulders, hair, outer skin). But the adjective most often describes specifically the high citadel of Troy, both in the *Iliad* and, though less frequently, in the *Odyssey*: πόλις ἄκρη (*Il.* 6.88, 257, 297, 317; 7.345; 22.383); πόλις ἀκροτάτη (*Il.* 20.52; 22.172); Πέργαμος ἄκρη (*Il.* 5.460; 6.512); ἀκρόπολις (*Od.* 8.494, 504), or simply ἄκρη (*Od.* 8.508).[10]

The specific formulaic phrase κατ᾽ ἄκρης (5x Homer) is in all four of its Iliadic usages closely associated with the acropolis of Troy, and particularly with the imminent destruction of that citadel, and by extension of Troy as a whole:

Il. 13.772–73:
– ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – νῦν ὤλετο πᾶσα κατ᾽ ἄκρης
Ἴλιος αἰπεινή· νῦν τοι σῶς αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.
(some manuscripts recorded κατὰ κρῆς according to the A and T scholia on this passage)

Il. 15.557–58:
– – / – πρίν γ᾽ ἠὲ κατακτάμεν ἠὲ κατ᾽ ἄκρης
Ἴλιον αἰπεινὴν ἑλέειν κτάσθαι τε πολίτας.

Il. 22.410–11:
τῷ δὲ μάλιστ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔην ἐναλίγκιον ὡς εἰ ἅπασα
Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ᾽ ἄκρης.

Il. 24.728–29:
– – / – – / – πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἧδε κατ᾽ ἄκρης
πέρσεται·

In the epic art-language the adjective alone appears to have been sufficient to evoke the notion of the 'height of the city,' the 'acropolis,' even without the noun πόλις expressed. The adjectival form in κατ᾽ ἄκρης is always feminine and singular, as though πόλις is to be understood. It will not do, then, to translate Homeric κατ᾽ ἄκρης by the trite and colorless adverb 'utterly,' as is often done. Though such a translation may be appropriate in later Classical poetry and prose, it does not do justice to the formula's resonance in the *Iliad*.

A notable exception in Homer is the single usage of the formula in the *Odyssey*, where it describes a wave crashing down on Odysseus' raft from above (5.313–14):

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[10] I.e., the adjective has evolved into a noun form ἄκρη, -ης, ἡ; cf. ἄκρον, -ου, τό.

ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντ' ἔλασεν μέγα κῦμα κατ' ἄκρης,
δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον, περὶ δὲ σχεδίην ἐλέλιξε.

Here, apparently, the 'situation-specific' formula has been generalized to mean in a looser sense 'down from above.' It is illustrative of the conservativeness of the epic diction that the adjective retains the feminine form ἄκρης, even though it no longer modifies an understood noun πόλις.

In sum, we should regard the two formulas κατ' ἄκρης and κατὰ κρῆθεν, earlier κατ' ἄκρηθεν, as etymologically related, both built on the root ἄκρη 'height' and having nothing to do in origin with the root κάρη 'head.' In all likelihood κατ' ἄκρηθεν functioned as a metrically useful alternative to κατ' ἄκρης in the epic art-language. One may compare ἐξ ἁλός / ἐξ ἁλόθεν, ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ / ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ / ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, ἐκ Διός / ἐκ Διόθεν, ἐξ ἀγροῖο / ἐξ ἀγρόθεν, and even ἐκ Τροίης / ἀπὸ Τροιήθεν.

The metanalysis of κατ' ἄκρηθεν as κατὰ κρῆθεν was motivated phonetically and morphologically in a very obvious way: i.e., the virtual homonymy of the two constructions.[11] But it also appears to have been motivated semantically by the close association between ἄκρη and κάρη in the epic art-language, both denoting an extremity, whether the citadel of a city or the head of a person. At a metaphoric level, associations between the human head and the citadel of a city abound in Homer. At *Il.* 19.99 (cf. *Theogony* 978, *Scutum* 80), for example, Thebes is described, apparently in reference to its battlements, as 'well-crowned' (ἐϋστεφάνῳ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ)—an epithet usually reserved for the goddesses Demeter and Aphrodite. At *Il.* 2.117 (= 9.24) Zeus is said to have destroyed 'the heads (i.e., citadels) of many cities' (ὃς δὴ πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα).

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[11] The difference in accentuation between κατ' ἄκρηθεν and κατὰ κρῆθεν may give one pause, but it is not an insurmountable obstacle to the proposal that the former was metanalyzed as the latter during the oral/aural stage of epic transmission. Ancient puns, word games, jokes, etc. regularly relied on the nearly homophonous sounds of phrases, even when there was a difference in accentuation, as in Aristophanes' pun in *Clouds* 1273: τί δῆτα ληρεῖς ὥσπερ ἀπ' ὄνου καταπεσών or τί δῆτα ληρεῖς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ νοῦ καταπεσών? I.e. is the audience to understand that he has fallen "from his ass" or "from his mind"? And we have already observed the overriding of accentual considerations in the following proposed metanalyses: *ἔλεσο βριμὸν ἔγχος > *ἔλεο βριμὸν ἔγχος (with loss of intervocalic /s/) > ἕλε' ὄβριμον ἔγχος (*Il.* 13.294); *κατ' ἄϝολκα > *κατὰ ϝόλκα > κατὰ ὦλκα (*Il.* 13.707); *ὀπποῖα (σ)σα > ὀπποῖ' ἄσσα (*Od.* 19.218).

At a deeper level there appears to have been embedded in the archaic Greek psyche a symbolic association between the citadel of a city and the physical head of its protecting monarch. The Iliadic scene of the disfigurement of Hector's body by Achilles in Book 22 is illustrative (22.395–411). Achilles ties Hector's feet to his chariot so that his head drags behind along the ground (κάρη δ' ἕλκεσθαι ἔασεν 398). His dark hair falls about him, and his once handsome head is defiled as it lies in the dust (κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίῃσι κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν 402–3; ὣς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν 405). The reaction of his mother Hecuba is telling: she sympathetically tears out her own hair, rips off the veil from her head, and tosses it far away from her (405–7), thereby echoing a scene earlier in Book 22 in which Priam tore out his hair and defiled his head at the prospect of Hector's death (77–78), and at the same time anticipating a later scene in which Andromache will throw off her headdress when she witnesses the terrible sight of Hector's corpse being dragged in front of the city (468–70). Amidst the wailing and lamentation of the king and queen and the people of the city it is as though all of 'browed' (ὀφρυόεσσα) Ilion has been consumed by fire 'from top to bottom' (κατ' ἄκρης) (410–11):

τῷ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον ὡς εἰ ἅπασα
Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης.

This is very close to a personification of the city. The defilement of the heads of the king and queen, prince and princess—two generations of the Trojan dynasty—presage the destruction of the city itself from the highest citadel down to the foundation.

Likewise, two books later in the *Iliad*, when Hector's ransomed body arrives back in Troy, Andromache again tears out her hair and touches his head (24.710–12). Then she cradles the head of his corpse in her arms (κάρη μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα 724) while she laments the imminent destruction of the city from its highest citadel down to its foundation (πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἧδε κατ' ἄκρης πέρσεται 728–9). The destruction of the κάρη of the protector of the city (729–30) again spells destruction for the ἄκρη of the city itself.

The symbolic association between the monarch's κάρη and the city's ἄκρη in these two passages reveals a perceived overlap in semantic range between the two terms. This perception must have contributed to the temptation to reshape the latter to look more like the former in the metanalysis the formula κατ' ἄκρηθεν as κατὰ κρῆθεν.

An even richer and more poignant association appears to have been ingrained in the epic art-language, hence probably in the archaic Greek psyche, between the κρήδεμνον 'headdress' that protects a woman's integrity and the ἄκρη 'citadel' that guards a city's integrity.[12] The κρήδεμνον, since antiquity derived etymologically from κάρη 'head' + δέω 'bind,'[13] is normally worn by a goddess or queen, and it is a symbol of her modesty and virtue. In early Greek epic verse it is worn by Hera, Demeter, Rhea, Hecate, Thetis, Charis, and Leucothea, among the goddesses, and Andromache, Nausicaa, and Penelope, among mortal women, and it often powerfully symbolizes their modesty, virtue, and integrity. For example, Demeter sympathetically casts the κρήδεμνον from her own head when she hears her daughter Persephone being violated by Hades (*H.Dem.* 40–42). And the κρήδεμνον of Penelope—the paradigmatic wearer of the κρήδεμνον—symbolizes her modesty, virtue, chastity, and integrity in the face of the evil-devising suitors who would violate her (*Od.* 1.334 [= 16.416, 18.210, 21.65]):

ἄντα παρειάων σχομένη λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα·

But, most interesting for our purposes, the same term κρήδεμνα, even embedded in the same formula λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα, is used metaphorically of the citadel of a city, particularly in the context of the destruction of the citadel of Troy (*Od.* 13.388):

οἷον ὅτε Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα

Cf. *Il.* 16.100:

ὄφρ' οἶοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν[14]

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[12] As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the nature of this symbolic relationship is eloquently articulated by M.N. Nagler (1974) 10–11, 44–60, and earlier in (1967) 279–280, 298–307.

[13] The ancient consensus can be observed in the scholia on *Il.* 14.184, *Et. Magn.* sub κρήδεμνον (though the same entry mentions that Herodian understood the etymology as from κάρη and δέμω), *Eustathius* on *Il.* 22.468; the modern consensus can be observed in *LSJ*, *DELG*, and *GEW* sub κρήδεμνον.

[14] Cf. *H.Dem.* 151, where the towers of the city of Eleusis are referred to metaphorically as κρήδεμνα πόληος; the second *H.Aphr.* 2, where the battlements of Cyprus are called Κύπρου κρήδεμνα; *Scutum* 105, where Poseidon is said to protect the κρήδεμνον of Thebes. As noted above, M.N. Nagler (1974) 55, n. 40 observes an interesting parallel in the plastic arts, where a woman's headpiece could markedly resemble the crenellations of a city's battlements (see Illustration III).

The ancients themselves recognized this metaphoric use of the term, as indicated by the scholia on *Il.* 16.100: κρήδεμνα· νῦν τὰ τείχη, μεταφορικῶς· ἰδίως γὰρ κρήδεμνον τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς κάλυμμα.[15]

The most poignant scene illustrating the symbolic association between the κρήδεμνον of a woman and the ἄκρη of a city, however, is the one mentioned in passing above to illustrate the symbolic association between the κάρη of the monarch and the ἄκρη of the city. In Book 22 of the *Iliad* Andromache, hearing the lamentation of the people descending from the citadel of Troy (ἀπὸ πύργου 447; cf. κατ' ἄκρης 411), goes to the tower (πύργον 462) to investigate. From high on the wall (ἐπὶ τείχει 463) she witnesses the terrible sight of Hector's corpse being dragged by Achilles in front of the city (πρόσθεν πόλιος 464), and in a symbolic gesture of defeat, not just for herself and her family, but for the entire city, she casts her κρήδεμνον—the very one that Aphrodite had given to her on her wedding day—'far from her head' (τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς) (*Il.* 22.468–72):

> τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,
> ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην
> κρήδεμνόν θ', ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη (470)
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἕκτωρ
> ἐκ δόμου Ἠετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἕδνα.

Once again the close association drawn here between the tossing away of a woman's headdress and the toppling of a city's citadel lends semantic support to the proposal that κατὰ κρῆθεν is etymologically related to an earlier κατ' ἄκρηθεν. Κρήδεμνον provides both morphological and semantic motivation for a metanalysis, inasmuch as the unique form of the root for 'head' in κρήδεμνον—κρη (instead of καρ- or κρα-)—could be perceived, albeit mistakenly, also in the metanalyzed κατὰ κρῆθεν. There appears to have arisen little compunction about the morphologically anomalous result in κρῆθεν (instead of the expected καρητόθεν, etc.).

We have now considered in detail the phonetic, morphological, and semantic motivation for the metanalysis of κατ' ἄκρηθεν as κατὰ κρῆθεν. As observed above, some scholars have been satisfied with the explanation of κατὰ κρῆθεν in the two Homeric passages—*Il.* 16.548

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[15] Cf. scholia on *Od.* 3.392, 13.388; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub κρηδέμνῳ; *Et. Gud.* sub κρήδεσμον; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 2.117, 16.100; *Od.* 1.335, 3.392, 13.388.

and *Od.* 11.588—as a late scribal error and would prefer to replace it in our texts with κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν.[16] It is true that κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν (or κατάκρηθεν) is a well attested manuscript variant in both passages, and if this reading were correct, the resegmentation of κατ᾽ ἄκρηθεν as κατὰ κρῆθεν—unless it occurred unevenly and independently in various poetic traditions—could be dated between the composition of the *katabasis* in Book 11 of the *Odyssey* and the composition of Hesiod's *Theogony*. This is a very narrow window of opportunity (if there is in fact any window at all), and it is intriguing to think that we may be able to date such a morphological resegmentation so precisely. Nonetheless, as intriguing as this possibility is, I do not in the end think that our Homeric variants can be attributed simply to scribal error. A full consideration of the phonetic, morphological, and semantic factors at play here supports the view that the resegmentation was not simply a textual misanalysis of a reading in manuscripts whose word division had been left obscured by the practice of *scriptio continua* but was rather an example of the type of oral/aural reshaping (i.e., metanalysis) that, as we have seen, occurred not infrequently throughout the eons of oral performance and transmission of epic verse that preceded the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[17]

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[16] So M. Leumann (1950) 56–58; *LfgE* sub ἄκρηθεν; *Janko*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 16.548. See notes 4 and 8.

[17] This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Phoenix* (see S. Reece [2009b]).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

HOMER'S ASPHODEL MEADOW ἈΣΦΟΔΕΛΌΣ / ΣΦΟΔΕΛΌΣ

Homer's 'asphodel meadow' (ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα), 'where the spirits of the dead dwell' (*Od*. 24.14), has throughout western literary history been envisioned as a pleasant and even desirable place. This was the impression among many of the ancient Greek poets and Homeric commentators, who understood the adjective ἀσφοδελός to mean 'flowery,' 'fragrant,' 'fertile,' and 'lush,' and who even referred to the asphodel meadow as a 'paradise' (παράδεισος).[1] This was all the more so among the post-Renaissance English poets, especially those of the Romantic tradition, who painted colorful pictures of "happy souls who dwell in yellow meads of asphodel."[2] But this is not the picture drawn in Books

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[1] 'Flowery'—it is the meadow of Persephone (so Herodian, acc. to scholium on *Od*. 11.539). 'Fragrant'—the asphodel is a 'good-smelling' (ἅπαν εὔοσμον) flower (so Aristarchus, according to *Hesychius* sub ἀσφόδελος). 'Fertile'—the meadow is rich in all sorts of other fauna (so Hecataeus in his comparison of Homeric ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα in Book 24 of the *Odyssey* with the 'most beautiful' meadows around Egyptian Memphis, which are full of 'marsh-meadow, lotus, and calamus' [ὄντων περὶ αὐτὴν λειμώνων καλλίστων ἕλους καὶ λωτοῦ καὶ καλάμου—*FGrH* 264 F 25.96.6a]). 'Lush'—it is a place where a cow would like to graze (so *H.Herm*. 221, 344, which offers the earliest description outside Homer of an ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα [here in Pieria] as an 'untouched' ἀκηρασίος [72], 'lovely' ἐρατεινός [72], 'soft' μαλακός [198], and 'holy' ζάθεος [503] place). From as early as the Hesiodic scholia (on *Works and Days* 169) the 'Elysian Plain,' the 'Isles of the Blessed,' and the 'Asphodel Meadow' had begun to be lumped together, and with the rise of Christianity 'Paradise' was a natural addendum: *Hesychius* sub ἀσφόδελος; Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Funebris Oratio in Laudem Basilii Magni Caesareae in Cappadocia Episcopi* 23, 7; Nicetas Heracleensis, *Fragmenta Commentariorum XVI Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, fragment 25. Lucian describes the underworld as a place where the souls pass time comfortably reclining on the asphodel with their friends and relatives (*Philopseudes* 24.23): "Τί δὲ ἔπραττον," ὁ Ἴων ἔφη, "ὦ Εὔκρατες, αἱ ψυχαί;" "Τί δ' ἄλλο," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ἢ κατὰ φῦλα καὶ φρήτρας μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν διατρίβουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσφοδέλου κατακείμενοι."

[2] Pope's *St. Cecilia's Day* 74. Cf. Milton's *Comus* 838 "To embathe in nectar'd lavers strew'd with asphodil." *Paradise Lost* 9.1039 "And flowers were the couch, pansies, and violets, and asphodel, and hyacinth, earth's freshest softest lap." Browne's *Hydriotaphia* 37 "The dead are made to eat asphodels about the Elyzian medows." Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* I. xi "Is that a real Elysian brightness? Is it of a truth leading us into beatific Asphodel meadows?" Tennyson's *Lotos-Eaters* 169 "Others in Elysian valleys dwell, resting weary limbs at last on beds of asphodel." Longfellow's *Evangeline* II. iv. 149 "Hereafter crown us with asphodel flowers." *The Two Angels* 13 "He who wore the

11 and 24 of the *Odyssey*, our earliest extended descriptions of Hades, and our earliest references to an 'asphodel meadow.' The three Odyssean passages in which Hades features an 'asphodel meadow' (11.539, 573; 24.13) portray a dark, gloomy, and mirthless place. This is not the Elysian Plain, where life is easy, and there ever blows a refreshing west wind (*Od.* 4.561–69); nor is it the Isles of the Blessed, where the grain-giving soil bears its sweet fruit for the most distinguished, and carefree, heroes (Hesiod's *Works and Days* 167–73); this is Hades—dark, dank, and sunless (*Od.* 10.512; 24.10; cf. *Il.* 20.65; *H.Dem.* 337)—where disembodied and senseless spirits of the dead weep and wail pathetically (*Od.* 11.391, 475–76, 605–6; 24.5–9) and flit about purposelessly like shadows or dreams (*Od.* 10.495; 11.207–8, 222).

The regular formulaic description of Hades in early Greek epic as a place of 'gloomy darkness' is illustrative of the Homeric view:

> – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα (3x Homer, 3x Hymns, 1x Hesiod).

One should then expect that a metrically useful alternative member of the family of formulas used to describe Hades (i.e., one beginning with a consonant rather than a vowel) would connote something rather more similar than different:

> – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα (*Od.* 11.539, 573; 24.13).

Had we not been exposed to the post-Homeric usage of the phrase to describe a lovely and fragrant meadow blooming with flowers, we would likely surmise that the adjective meant quite the opposite: 'dark,' 'gloomy,' 'dusty,' 'infertile,' or the like—the furthest idea from a 'paradise.' Such a meaning would fit aptly the context in each of the three Odyssean passages where the formula occurs: in *Od.* 11.539 the spirit of the dead Achilles, having taken leave of Odysseus, 'strides through the asphodel meadow'; in *Od.* 11.573 the spirit of the hunter Orion gathers together his slaughtered prey 'through the asphodel meadow'; in *Od.* 24.13 the spirits of the slaughtered suitors arrive, squeaking like bats in a cave, 'at the asphodel meadow.'

We do not in fact know for certain whence the adjective ἀσφοδελός in this Homeric formula derives etymologically, even with recourse to

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crown of asphodels, descending, at my door began to knock." Wilde's *Panthea* 34 "Where asphodel and yellow lotus twine." Williams' *Asphodel, That Greeny Flower* "I was cheered when I came first to know that there were flowers also in hell."

the many post-Homeric usages of the word, both in its nominal form, accented as a proparoxytone ἀσφόδελος, and in its adjectival form, accented as an oxytone ἀσφοδελός: whether in poetry, where the flower is often associated with the afterlife,[3] or in prose generally, and in particular in medical treatises, where we learn of the various practical uses of the stalk, root, and flower.[4] The word has no apparent Indo-European etymology, no attestation in Linear B, and no cognates in the Greek language generally.[5] In view of this lexical isolation, it is tempting to regard it as a loan word, in which case its origin is probably to be found in the substratal pre-Indo-European language of Greece—the source of many of the terms for the flora native to the land (narcissus, hyacinth, daphne, etc.). This has become the most generally accepted view among modern etymologists and comparative linguists.[6]

If indeed ἀσφόδελος is an indigenous name for a native flower, the word must have entered the Greek vernacular long before Homer, and

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[3] So Theocritus (*Idyll* 26.4), Nicander (*Theriaca* 534), Lucian (*Cataplus* 2, *Mennipus* 21, *de Luctu* 5, 19, *Philopseudes* 24, *Charon* 22), etc. Cf. *H.Herm.* 221, 344 for the earliest (albeit metaphorical) association.

[4] The stalk is said to have been used to make cages, huts, bedding for animals, etc., and the stalk, root, and flower for various medicinal and nutritional purposes—a diuretic, an enema, an emetic, a purgative, etc.—and, in general, as a remedy for a host of medical problems, and even as a nutritional food; so Herodotus, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Crateuas, Dioscorides, Plutarch, Longus, Athenaeus, Lucian, Rufus, Galen, Pliny, etc. On the various purported uses of the asphodel in antiquity, with full citations and commentary, see J.M. Verpoorten (1962) 111–118 and M. Biraud (1993) 37–42. Cf. Hesiod *Works and Days* 41 for the earliest reference to asphodel as a food.

[5] Some have attempted, unconvincingly, to adduce Indo-European cognates: W. Prellwitz (1892) sub ἀσφόδελος relates it to Greek σφοδρός and σφεδανός, presumably of Indo-European origin, because the flower 'trembles' and 'shakes' in the wind; L. Meyer (1901–1902) sub ἀσφόδελος relates it to Greek σφόνδυλος, presumably of Indo-European origin, because of the flower's 'round' shape; *Ebeling* sub ἀσφοδελός adduces Sanskrit *spha-t* 'swell,' apparently in reference to a characteristic of the plant's growth; F.A. Wood (1926) 341 proposes parallels in Gothic (*azgo*), Sanskrit (*ásaḥ*), Old High German (*asca*), and Greek (ἄσβολος) meaning 'ashes or soot,' with reference to the blossom, and parallels in Lithuanian (*gélti*) and Greek (βέλος, ὄβελος) meaning 'sting, dart, or spit,' with reference to the stalk; M. Poetto (1976) relates it to Sanskrit *āsphota-*, the name of several plants, and so to the root *sphuṭ-* 'to open, to bloom,' but he assigns an 'indomediterranean' origin rather than an exclusively Indo-European one; *DGE* sub ἀσφόδελος compares Greek σφυδόω 'swell up' and so traces it to the PIE root **sphudh-*.

[6] Those who regard ἀσφόδελος as a loan word of unknown origin include: *Hofmann* sub ἀσφόδελος; *GEW* sub ἀσφόδελος; *DELG* sub ἀσφόδελος; J. André (1985) sub *asphodelus*; *LfgE* sub ἀσφόδελος. Those who specify that ἀσφόδελος is a loan word of substratal origin include: J.M. Verpoorten (1962) 118; E.J. Furnée (1972) 159, 288; A.J. van Windekens (1975); M. Biraud (1993) 37, 43; S. Amigues (2002) 9; *GED* sub ἀσφόδελος.

so it is no surprise that many of its post-Homeric usages, even poetic ones, appear to be independent of the three Odyssean passages: the adjectival form used to describe the pasture of Apollo's cattle in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (221, 344); the noun form used by Hesiod (*Works and Days* 41) in a proverbial expression describing the benefits of the plant; the numerous references in later Greek historical, philosophical, and medical treatises describing the plant's various practical uses (see note 4).

I wish to propose, however, that the adjective ἀσφοδελός in this particular Homeric formula κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα has a somewhat more complicated etymology and cannot simply be categorized as an indigenous, non-Greek, loan word. Rather, I suggest that ἀσφοδελός of the Homeric formula is the result of a resegmentation of a phrase that is better understood in a strictly Greek etymological context: i.e., that ἀσφοδελός is a metanalysis of σφοδελός, or rather σποδελός, an adjectival form, with the common Greek suffix -ελος, of the root σποδ- found also in the Homeric noun σποδός 'ashes.' The Homeric formula κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα in its original form meant 'throughout the ash-filled meadow.' This fits the context well in all three Odyssean descriptions of the afterlife in Hades, for σποδός is regularly used in Greek poetry of the ashes of the dead (Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 435, 443; *Choephori* 687; Sophocles' *Electra* 758, 1122, 1159, 1198; Euripides' *Suppliants* 1129, 1140; etc.), and of the ashes used in the act of mourning for the dead (Euripides' *Suppliants* 827, 1159, etc.). It is also used commonly on grave stelai and other funerary inscriptions of the ashes of the dead contained in a vessel, in the earth, or even in Acheron and Hades (*Anthologia Graeca* 7.279, 435, etc.; *IG* II/III 3;2 documents 13124, 13135, etc.).

According to the Homeric scholar Herodian, as reported in a Homeric scholium on *Od.* 11.539, and, later, by Eustathius on *Od.* 11.539, the form σφοδελόν or σποδελόν was in fact the reading at *Od.* 11.539 in some early Homeric manuscripts: ἄδηλον δὲ πότερον σφοδελὸν ἢ ἀσφοδελόν. λέγει γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ α. τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι σποδελὸν διὰ τὴν σποδὸν τῶν καιομένων νεκρῶν.[7] This reading made

[7] Scholium on *Od.* 11.539: κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα—ὀξυτόνως. ἄδηλον δὲ πότερον σφοδελὸν ἢ ἀσφοδελόν. λέγει γὰρ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ α. τινὲς δὲ γράφουσι σποδελὸν διὰ τὴν σποδὸν τῶν καιομένων νεκρῶν. ἄμεινον δὲ ἀσφοδελὸν διὰ τὸ Περσεφόνης εἶναι λειμῶνα τὸν τόπον. εἶπε δὲ ἀσφοδελὸν τὸν τόπον τὸν ἔχοντα ἀσφοδελόν, ἥτις ἐστὶ βοτάνη

sense both etymologically and semantically to at least some of the ancients: etymologically because 'prothesis' and 'aphaeresis' of initial α was a commonly observed phenomenon (ἄσταχυς/στάχυς, ἀσταφίς/σταφίς, ἀμοργοί/μοργοί, ἀμαυρός/μαυρός, etc.), as was the alternation between π and φ (ἀσπάραγος/ἀσφάραγος, ἀσπάλαξ/ἀσφάλαξ, ἀσπάλαθος/ἀσφάλαθος; cf. σπονδύλιον/σφονδύλιον, σπόγγος/σφόγγος, etc.); semantically because the adjective aptly described the ashes of the cremated dead in Hades. These arguments have made sense to at least a few modern critics as well, leading them to prefer the reading κατά σποδελὸν λειμῶνα reported by Herodian to the reading κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα of all the surviving Homeric manuscripts.[8]

Let us assume for a moment that σποδελὸν λειμῶνα—though probably not Homeric and therefore not the reading to be printed in our modern editions of Homer—was the pre-Homeric shape of a formula used to describe Hades. We find in our inherited verses of Homeric epic a very likely avenue for the adjective's metanalysis; we can observe in the three passages of the *Odyssey* the phonetic environment that led to the creation of the new shape ἀσφοδελός. Simply stated, the three Odyssean passages point back to a period in the development of the epic diction when the shape of a formula used to describe the ash-filled meadow of Hades was:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ κατά σποδελὸν λειμῶνα

ὁμοία σκίλλῃ. ἀσφοδελώδη. ἀσφοδελοὺς ἔχοντα. *Eustathius* on *Od.* 11.539: Τὸ δὲ κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα οἱ μὲν συναλείφουσι καὶ φασὶ τετρασυλλάβως ἀσφοδελὸν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ α γράφουσι σφοδελὸν, καὶ φέρεται ἀμφοτέρως, ὡς καὶ ἀσταφὶς καὶ σταφὶς, καὶ ἄσταχυς καὶ στάχυς, ἄλλοι δὲ σποδελὸν διὰ τὴν σποδὸν τῶν καιομένων νεκρῶν. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἀσφοδελὸς ἢ σφοδελὸς ᾠκείωται νεκροῖς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν σποδὸν ὁμοιόφωνον καὶ ἐφυτεύετο ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τὸ τοιοῦτον φυτὸν, ὡς δηλοῖ καί τι τῶν παρὰ τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐπιγραμμάτων, λέγον, ὡς ἀπό τινος τάφου, ὅτι νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον, κόλπῳ δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἔχω. Cf. *Suda* (sub Ἀμοργοί, Μοργούς, and Σφοδελόν): Ἀμοργοί πόλεως ὄλεθρος· Κρατῖνος Σεριφίοις. καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ μοργούς, τὸ α ἀφαιροῦντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων· μαῦρον γὰρ τὸ ἀμαυρὸν καὶ σφόδελον τὸν ἀσφόδελον καλοῦσιν. Μοργούς· ὅτι οὕτω καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀμοργοὺς τὸ α ἀφαιροῦντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων· μαῦρον γὰρ τὸ ἀμαυρὸν καὶ σφόδελον τὸν ἀσφόδελον καλοῦσι. Σφοδελόν· τὸν ἀσφόδελον καλοῦσι, τὸ α ἀφαιροῦντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων· μαυρὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀμαυρόν.

[8] So S. Amigues (2002), who argues that ἀσφοδελόν 'flowery' does not make sense in the context of the three Homeric passages, while σποδελόν 'ashy,' with its connotations of death, and especially of the cremation of the dead, is a natural description of the meadows of Hades. Her argument is cited approvingly in *CEG* sub ἀσφόδελος. W. Burkert (1985) 196 also acknowledges the aptness of the reading and entertains the notion of an ash-strewn meadow in Hades.

This formula was misheard, misunderstood, and misanalyzed by a pre-Homeric bard as:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα

Possibly κατά σφοδελὸν λειμῶνα was an intermediate step.[9]

Now, even if one accepts the phonetic motivation for this change—i.e., the ambiguity of the elision of α, and the similarity between the sounds π and φ (still a true aspirate rather than a fricative)—one may reasonably hold some doubts that a semantically and contextually suitable formula for Hades 'throughout the ash-filled meadow' would have been misunderstood and reshaped into a semantically and contextually awkward one 'throughout the asphodel (i.e., flowery) meadow.' Some modern scholars have tried to resolve the disjunction of a 'flowery Hades' by portraying the asphodel as a foul-smelling, unattractive plant that grows only on poor and desolate ground and so, among all the specimens of the botanical world, uniquely suited for the barren topography of Hades.[10] But the ancients—poets, botanists, physicians, and Homeric commentators alike—speak of the asphodel with high praise: fragrant to the smell; lovely to the sight; nutritious, satisfying, and sweet to eat; useful as a remedy for a host of ailments; and, in the other-world, a soft bed upon which the souls of the departed may recline with friends and relatives.[11]

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[9] E.J. Furnée (1972) 159, 288 classifies ἀσφόδελος as of substratal pre-Greek origin, listing it among many words that he considers to have suffered substratal (not Greek) prothesis of a- (cf. 368–374, where he lists 90+ such words). This might explain the apparent biform σφοδελός that we find in later Greek, the earliest certain example being Aristophanes fr. 693 σφοδελὸν ἐν χύτραισι μεγάλαις ἑψόμενον ('asphodel boiling in large earthen pots'). As already observed, the biform is entertained as a Homeric reading by Herodian (scholium on *Od.* 11.539) and Eustathius (on *Od.* 11.539). The biform is also mentioned by several ancient lexicographers: *Hesychius* (sub σφόδελος) σφόδελος· ἡ ἄλιμος. δασὺ ἄνθος, ἄρχον, σκιερόν. οἱ δὲ σῖτον; (sub σφοδελοφόρους) σφοδελοφόρους· τοὺς μετοίκους; cf. Pausanias the Atticist Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή (sub ἀμοργοί); Photius *Lexicon* (sub ἀμοργοί); *Suda* (sub ἀμοργοί, μοργούς, and σφοδελόν); *Et. Magn.* (sub ἀσφόδελος).

[10] E.g., *Stanford*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 11.539; 24.13: "it is a lean, spiky plant that grows on poor and desolate ground"; *BNP* sub asphodelos: "a foul-smelling plant of the kingdom of the dead"; H. Baumann (1993) 65 "the pale, greyish flower gives to the landscape a dull appearance matching the sadness and the emptiness of the Underworld"; "the bare stalks in winter represent the shadowy army which wanders up and down the banks of the Acheron"; "the disagreeable odour and the clusters of flowers shaded with violet harmonize with pale death and the darkness of the Underworld."

[11] See references in notes 1 and 4; also, for an extensive summary of the flower's benefits, see Pliny's *Natural History* 21.68 and 22.32.

I believe the solution lies rather in a very ancient (i.e., pre-Homeric) association of the asphodel with the afterlife—though not necessarily with the underworld—an association that may go back to the indigenous culture from which the Greeks borrowed both the flower and its name. To be sure, references that associate the asphodel with the other-world by such literary figures as Lucian may be entirely dependent upon Homer.[12] But the remarks of ancient lexicographers and commentators suggest that the association between the asphodel and the afterlife was a feature of broader Greek culture, not just a Homeric idiosyncrasy.

As we have seen, according to the Homeric scholar Herodian, as reported in a Homeric scholium on *Od.* 11.539, and, later, by Eustathius on *Od.* 11.539, the form σφοδελόν or σποδελόν was in fact the reading at *Od.* 11.539 in some early Homeric manuscripts. Yet, Herodian argues for ἀσφοδελόν partly at least because of a perceived association between the asphodel and Persephone (ἄμεινον δὲ ἀσφοδελὸν διὰ τὸ Περσεφόνης εἶναι λειμῶνα τὸν τόπον), who of course epitomizes the 'flower picker on the meadow' in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (6–9, 417–28).

The 2nd c. A.D. Atticist Pausanias (sub ἀσφόδελος) offers similar remarks—and these are reiterated later in the *Suda* (sub ἀσφόδελος) and in other Byzantine lexica—that the asphodel is sacred to Persephone and the Chthonic deities. And the Rhodians garland with asphodel Kore (i.e., Persephone) and Artemis (i.e., infernal Artemis, presumably, who is to be equated with Hekate, both being associated with the moon):

> ἀσφόδελος· σκιλλῶδες φυτὸν φύλλα ἔχον μακρὰ καὶ ἀνθέρικον ἐσθιόμενον. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δὲ αὐτοῦ φρυγόμενον καὶ ἡ ῥίζα κοπτομένη μετὰ σύκων πλείστην ὄνησιν ἔχει. Περσεφόνης καὶ χθονίων ἱερόν. καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν Κόρην καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἀσφοδέλῳ στέφουσιν.

Eustathius on *Od.* 11.539 adds that the asphodel is suitable for the dead because it was to be found growing on tombs, and he quotes an epigram traditionally attributed to Aristotle that could be found inscribed on tombs: "On my back I hold mallow and many-rooted asphodel, but on my breast I hold so-and-so (νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον, κόλπῳ δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἔχω)." From a Latin version of Ausonius (Epigram 21) we may fill in the names of the Greek version:

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[12] Lucian *Cataplus* 2, *Menippus* 21, *de Luctu* 5, but especially *Philopseudes* 24 (where the souls of the dead recline on the asphodel in Hades with friends and relatives), *de Luctu* 19 (where the fate of the soul in the afterlife is depicted), and *Charon* 22 (where there is mention of the dead on the asphodelion meadow of Hades).

Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus,
caulibus et malvis terga superna virent.

Νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον,
κόλπῳ δ' Ἱππόθοόν τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιον ἔχω.[13]

There survive versions with different names (*SEG* XLI 855):

Νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον,
κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαΐου υἱὸν ἔχω.

One can imagine that many a deceased Greek was honored by this epitaph, so long as his name could be accommodated metrically into the pentameter of the couplet.

It does not seem to me that all these various associations between the asphodel and death could have resulted simply from the three appearances of the formula ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα in Homer's *Odyssey*. Rather, I think that the epic tradition was mirroring in its formulaic diction the already existing association in wider Greek culture. And I suggest that this long-held association between the asphodel and the afterlife added semantic temptation to the already existing phonetic temptation to reshape of the epic formula κατά σποδελὸν λειμῶνα as κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα.

To clarify, and to dig a little deeper, we should consider the general confusion during this period about what happens to the human soul in the afterlife: does it go to the verdant Elysian Plain or to the gloomy depths of Hades? Like most cultures throughout human history, both ancient and modern, the Greeks held complex and sometimes contradictory views about the afterlife. Did an immaterial soul survive the physical body? If so, did all souls go to the same place, or did they have different destinations? If different destinations, on what criteria were their destinations determined? Were some rewarded and others punished for their behavior while alive?

This complexity was probably a result of the syncretism of several different cultural traditions. The notion of a dark and gloomy Hades situated deep in the earth is very close to the Mesopotamian and Hebrew conceptions of the underworld.[14] The notion of a brighter

[13] So E. Diehl (1925) 181.

[14] Cf. Enkidu's descriptions of the underworld in tablets seven and twelve of the Epic of Gilgamesh, and the many descriptions of Sheol in the Hebrew Scriptures (e.g., Numbers 16:30–33, Job 10:21–22, Psalms 88:3–6, Isaiah 14:9–20, Ezekiel 32:18–32).

and more pleasant Elysian Plain or Isles of the Blessed seems to have its origin in Minoan, and ultimately Egyptian, views of the afterlife.[15] Complicating the picture further are the inherited (i.e., Indo-European) memories of a meadow criss-crossed by rivers somewhere in the foggy west or north.[16]

The relative weight attached to these various conceptions changed over time, both in the theological and philosophical musings of the ancient Greeks and in the literary and poetic tradition that serves as a mirror of these broader beliefs. We can observe, for example, that over time the yearning for the pleasantries of the Elysian Plain and the Isles of the Blessed became increasingly realized. In the *Iliad* the souls of all the dead go straight down to Hades, including such heroes as Patroclus (23.69–76) and apparently even those of divine parentage like Sarpedon (16.431–57). In the *Odyssey* Menelaus is said to have a special dispensation: he is advised by the sea god Proteus that the immortals will send him to the Elysian Plain, where life is easy, and there is no snow or rain, but only the cool refreshing breezes of the west wind (4.561–69). Cretan Rhadamanthys resides there, and Helen will presumably join Menelaus, but it is a very exclusive club: the souls of countless other heroes and heroines, including Teiresias, Achilles, and even Heracles, are to be found in Hades (*Od.* 11.36–635; 24.13–204). Hesiod opens the door to a pleasant afterlife wider by sending to the Isles of the Blessed some (or perhaps all) of the heroes who fought around Thebes and Troy. There they live a care-free life beside

[15] Several aspects of the Elysian Plain and the Isles of the Blessed point to a Minoan origin. First, the *Odyssey* places the Cretan king Rhadamanthys on the Elysian Plain (4.563–64)—the *Ilias Parva* (apparently) on the Isles of the Blessed (fr. 32)—where he serves as judge over those who are fortunate enough to end up there (cf. Pindar *Olympian* 2.73–75); Rhadamanthys' pre-Greek name in -νθ-, his association with Crete, and his relationship to king Minos, all point to a Minoan origin for the other-world over which he rules. Second, the location of the other-world beyond the Ocean or on an island is more naturally conceived by a sea-faring people like the Minoans than by the inland-dwelling Indo-European ancestors of the Greeks. Third, Minoan funerary art represents the divinization of man and a voyage of the deceased over the sea in a boat to a distant land, both concepts of which appear to be ultimately derived from Egypt, where the apotheosized dead are regularly provided with boats for their voyage to the far-off islands. See M.P. Nilsson (1949) 426–443, 619–633; J. Gwyn Griffiths (1947); E. Vermeule (1979) 42–82.

[16] Cf. Norse *Hel*, the land of the dead to the north; Hittite *wellu-* (= Ἠλύσιον?), the meadow that was the goal of the departed in Hittite mortuary rituals; Vedic *gávyūti-*, the other-worldly cow-pasture of Yama. So J. Puhvel (1969), (1987) 138–140.

the deep-eddying Ocean, where the earth produces crops for them three times a year (*Works and Days* 156–73). Later lyric poets such as Ibycus and Simonides admit Achilles and Medea to Elysium,[17] and Pindar opens the way to the Isles of the Blessed—where ocean breezes blow, flowers of gold are ablaze, and heroes spend their time entwining their hands with wreaths and garlands—not only to additional mythological heroes such as Cadmus, Peleus, and Achilles (*Olympian* 2.56–83), but even to people of his own time—namely, to the patrons who are the subjects of his odes (e.g., Theron of Acragas in *Olympian* 2). One begins to wonder who, other than the occasional oath-breaker or loathsome criminal, is left to inhabit an underworld Hades.

I propose that the reshaping of the formula κατὰ σποδελὸν λειμῶνα as κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα in early Greek epic diction occurred in tandem with the opening up of Elysium to a larger and larger clientele of inhabitants in early Greek theological musings about the fate of the human soul in the afterlife. I believe that if we were able to explore more extensively the early (pre-Homeric) formulaic diction created to describe the topography of the afterlife—the dark and barren underworld of Hades, on the one hand, and the pleasant and fertile Elysian Plain and the Isles of the Blessed, on the other—we would find that a distinct family of formulaic phrases had been designed for each.[18] Within these families of formulas, the ones in the accusative case preceded by the preposition (adverb) κατά were κατὰ σποδελὸν λειμῶνα, on the one hand, and κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, on the other. Phonetically, the former would have been prone to mishearing and misanalysis under the influence of the latter (and possibly vice versa). The phonetic temptation to misanalyze was further stimulated by external considerations: i.e., the increasingly confused conception of what were formerly regarded as two distinct regions of the other-world, and especially, in the realm of epic diction, the diminished exclusivity of Elysium as more and more epic heroes found themselves elevated from Hades. In short, the theological ambiguity about the afterlife, complemented by the phonetic ambiguity of the two formulas, led to the resegmentation

[17] A scholium on Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* on 4.814–15 reports that in the poems of Ibycus and Simonides Achilles ends up on the Elysian Plain married to Medea.

[18] E.g., for Hades σποδελὸς λειμῶν, σποδελοὶ λειμῶνες, ἐν(ι) σποδελῷ λειμῶνι, κατὰ σποδελὸν λειμῶνα, ἐς σποδελὸν λειμῶνα, etc.; for Elysium ἀσφοδελὸς λειμῶν, ἀσφοδελοὶ λειμῶνες, ἐν ἀσφοδελῷ λειμῶνι, κατ᾽ ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, etc.

of κατά σποδελὸν λειμῶνα, an epic formula used to describe Hades, as κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, an epic formula used to describe Elysium. Henceforth, κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα was used to describe both, even in contextual situations where it was somewhat inappropriate, even awkward, as in the three passages of the *Odyssey* under consideration here.[19]

[19] Coincidentally—and just as a curious addendum—the ancient pre-Hellenic name for this flower—*(a)sphodel—long after its introduction into Greek as ἀσφόδελος continued to spawn resegmented forms in the modern languages, such as the English derivative 'daffodil,' the initial 'd' of which has been plausibly attributed to the union of the article 'th'' and 'affodil' (i.e., th' affodill or t' affadil > daffodil), or alternatively to such an expression as 'fennell and affodil' > 'fennell an(d)affodil.' A resegmentation may also have arisen in Dutch or Flemish in the union of the article 'de' and 'affodil' (i.e., de affodil > daffodil), and in French in the union of the preposition 'de' and 'afodille' (i.e., fleur d' aphrodille > daphrodille). On the etymology see *OED* sub daffodil. This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* (see S. Reece [2007]).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE HOMERIC AND MYCENAEAN BATH ἈΣΆΜΙΝΘΟΣ / ΝΑΣΆΜΙΝΘΟΣ

In the storm of controversy raised by the word ἀσάμινθος there are two reliable anchors: first, that for Homer ἀσάμινθος meant not simply a wash basin or tripod from which to draw warm water but a real 'bathtub,' one into which the bather entered and from which he emerged (ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθον / ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου), one of the very type that has survived almost intact from the Mycenaean period in the palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia (see Illustration IV); second, that ἀσάμινθος, with its intervocalic sigma and -νθ- suffix, is not native Greek but a foreign loan word of a type thought to have had its origins directly in the indigenous 'Aegean' culture and perhaps ultimately in Anatolia or the Near East (cf. Κόρινθος, λαβύρινθος, ὑάκινθος).

In Homer the word is seven times embedded in the formulaic phrase ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθ-ον (-ους) / ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθ-ου (-ων):

> ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐΰξέστας λούσαντο (*Il.* 10.576; *Od.* 4.48)
> ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθον βάνθ'· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἀσπασίως ἴδε θυμῷ (*Od.* 8.450)
> ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθον ἕσασα λό' ἐκ τρίποδος μεγάλοιο (*Od.* 10.361)
> ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος (*Od.* 3.468)
> ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθου βὰς ἄνδρας μέτα οἰνοποτῆρας (*Od.* 8.456)
> ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθων βάντες ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθῖζον (*Od.* 17.90)

Three times the particle δέ occurs instead of ἄρα (although in each case ῥ' survives as a manuscript variant):

> ἔς δ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐΰξέστας λούσαντο (*Od.* 17.87)
> ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμοῖος (*Od.* 23.163)
> ἐκ δ' ἀσαμίνθου βῆ· θαύμαζε δέ μιν φίλος υἱός (*Od.* 24.370)

Only once does ἀσάμινθος occur outside the formulaic expression, there with no particle at all:

> ὃς Μενελάῳ δῶκε δύ' ἀργυρέας ἀσαμίνθους (*Od.* 4.128)

The almost complete fossilization of this ancient loan word within a formulaic phrase, which along with a form of βαίνω fills the metrical space between verse-beginning and third-foot caesura (– ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – [⏑]),

suggests that ἀσάμινθος was not the common term for 'bath' in the vernacular of Homer's contemporaries; it had become a linguistic relic well before the time of Homer.

The word is almost moribund after Homer, other terms for bath being common (πύελος, βαλανεῖον, σκαφή, μάκρα, δροίτη, etc.): the rare poetic usages of ἀσάμινθος are clearly derived from epic (e.g., Sophocles fr. 204, Cratinus fr. 252), and the prose usages are almost all commenting on these very Homeric passages, or, if not, are nevertheless derived indirectly from epic. The ancient lexicographers knew the meaning of ἀσάμινθος but had not a clue of its etymology; the most frequently offered solution is also the most amusing: ἄσις + μινύθω 'slime reducer' (so Homeric scholia, Apollonius Sophista, Hesychius, etc.).[1]

While modern comparative philologists have almost unanimously regarded ἀσάμινθος as a loan word, there has been no unanimity about its original root or provenance. Attempts to derive its origins from Near Eastern words in *asam*- have produced only vague correspondences, the most striking of which are Sumerian AN.ZA.AM 'drinking vessel' and its Akkadian offspring *assammu*(*m*) 'goblet, drinking vessel (especially for beer).'[2]

Suspicion has remained high that some sort of junctural metanalysis has occurred after the incorporation of ἀσάμινθος into the Greek lexicon, thereby disguising the earlier form of the loan word; and hope has remained high that if only the specific details of the metanalysis can be determined, the revelation of the earlier form will allow more foreign cognates to present themselves. Though I am merely stating the obvious, it is perhaps worthwhile to remind ourselves that the three occurrences in Homer of ἀσάμινθος with δέ suggest, and the single occurrence without any particle confirms, that what we have here is not simply a case of textual misanalysis of *scriptio continua* by readers of Homer. If there was a metanalysis, it had already occurred long before the existence of a text, during a period of oral transmission, and the metanalyzed ἀσάμινθος had since then become a legitimate word in the Greek lexicon.

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[1] So scholia on *Il.* 10.576, *Od.* 3.468, 19.553; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* sub ἀσάμινθος; *Hesychius* sub αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα; Choeroboscus *De Spiritibus* 192 (in L.C. Valckenaer's edition); Photius *Lexicon* sub αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα; *Et. Gud.* sub ἀσάμινθος; *Et. Magn.* sub ἀσάμινθος; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 4.48; *Zonaras* sub ἀσάμινθος; *Suda* sub ἀσάμινθος and αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα.

[2] For details and references, see E.J. Furnée (1972) 45–46.

M.L. West suggested in 1967 that ἀσάμινθος is a misanalysis of *ῥασάμινθος.[3] The phonetic avenue for this metanalysis is wide, since in seven of its eleven occurrences in Homer ἀσάμινθος is preceded by the particle ῥ', three times by δ' (and in all three instances ῥ' is a variant reading), and only once with no particle of any kind. Since ῥ' is neither semantically nor metrically necessary (εἰς and ἐξ could have been substituted for ἔς ῥ' and ἔκ ῥ'), and is in places even syntactically cumbersome (cf. *Od.* 8.450), it is difficult to imagine why it is so tenacious here unless it was part of the original form. The presence of Minos' brother Ῥαδάμανθυς shows that *ῥασάμινθος was comfortable, phonetically at least, in a Minoan/Mycenaean context.

R. Renehan came independently to a similar solution at about the same time but offered a model that involved prothesis rather than aphaeresis; i.e., *ῥα σάμινθος > ῥ' ἀσάμινθος.[4] He posited as semantic support for the phonetic shift Σάμινθος, the name of a locality in the Argolid mentioned by Thucydides (5.58.4), and *sa-me-ti-jo*, a proper name on a Linear B tablet from Knossos (KN K 875), though neither has any notable association with the Homeric bath.

The dynamic nature of the field of historical Greek linguistics was well demonstrated shortly thereafter by the full realization of the significance of an inscribed sealing from Knossos (KN Ws 8497)—excavated in 1901 by Arthur Evans and Duncan Mackenzie but unpublished and generally unknown—which had on one side, inscribed upon an impression of a stag, the common ideogram for bronze (AES) hovering over another ideogram of a rectangular (tub-like?) shape (*246—possibly found also on KN U 5186.1 and U 437),[5] and on the other side the Linear B signs *ke-ni-qa* (χέρνιβα 'hand-washing basin[s]') and *a-sa-mi-to* (ἀσάμινθος[-οι]).[6] One thing was clear: that, contra West and Renehan, neither Homer nor the Dark Age epic poets before him were responsible for a metanalysis of any kind; ἀσάμινθος was a legitimate Mycenaean word

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3 M.L. West (1967) 144–145.

4 R. Renehan (1968).

5 But F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier (1979) 177 doubt that the ideogram represents a bathtub on KN U 5186.1 and U 437.

6 D. Mackenzie describes a "clay seal with a stag…some signs on the back" in his excavation notes for April 6th, 1901 (so M.A.V. Gill [1965] 67–68). The first public report of the inscription on this sealing appeared in "Minoan Script Discovery," *The London Times* (April 12th, 1965). The sealing's inscription was first mentioned in a scholarly publication in *Nestor* (May 1st, 1965) 385. The sealing first appeared drawn and transcribed in M.A.V. Gill (1966) 6, 9. The sealing was finally properly published, sixty-six years after its discovery, by J.-P. Olivier (1967) 291.

for a kind of vessel that could be found in any Mycenaean palace. A single, small clay sealing that had lain in storage in the Herakleion Museum for almost seventy years had rendered their ingenious etymologies obsolete.

But even this revelatory discovery did not allay all suspicion that some sort of metanalysis had taken place. There remained the possibility that a metanalysis had occurred in the Greek vernacular before the period of the Linear B inscription, whence it found its way much later, already in its misdivided form, into the Homeric epics. This window of opportunity seemed wide enough open to O. Szemerényi, who soon drew attention to Akkadian *nemsētu* 'wash-basin,' which at Ugarit, Nuzi, etc. also appears in the form *namsītu*, the root of which, *namsû*, can mean 'tub' as well as 'bowl.' The earliest forms of the noun were *namasû*, *namasītu*, the latter of which Szemerényi takes as the source of Greek ἀσάμινθος: i.e., *namasītu* > *namasittu* > *namasint*(*h*)- (via dissimilation) > *amasinth*- (via metanalysis) > *asaminth*- (via metathesis).[7] In a later note Szemerényi attributed the metanalysis to deglutination of the initial ν- as part of a demonstrative: *τὸ νασάμινθον > *τὸν ἀσάμινθον.[8]

I find Szemerényi's proposed etymology plausible linguistically, although I prefer a line of evolution whereby -*int*(*h*)- was the result not of dissimilation but simply of an 'Aegean' suffix -*inth*- being appended to an Akkadian loan word with the root *namsû* 'washbowl, washing tub.' The etymology is equally plausible historically, since it is precisely these sorts of cultural artifacts that most readily cross ethnic boundaries, often with their nomenclatures in tow.[9] It would not be unlike what has happened to loan words from the Near East in more recent times, as we have already observed, such as the metanalysis of Arabic *nāranj* as French *orange*, a result of the phonetic ambiguity commonly found in the Romance languages in collocations of words that include the indefinite article (i.e., deglutination).

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[7] O. Szemerényi (1971) 657.

[8] O. Szemerényi (1974) 149.

[9] One may compare the many types of vessels mentioned in Homer that have no Indo-European provenance and are therefore of foreign, perhaps Near Eastern, origin; in addition to ἀσάμινθος we find in Homer: ἄγγος, ἄλεισον, δέπας, κάνε(ι)ον, κέραμος, κισσύβιον, κοτύλη, λάρναξ, λέβης, λήκυθος, πίθος, φιάλη. A more recent and even clearer illustration of this phenomenon is the wholesale borrowing by Latin of Greek names for vessels: *calpar, cantharus, crater, cyathus, gaulus, lebes*. For a recent evaluation of the etymologies of vessel names in early Greek, see D. Anderson (1994–1995).

Yet, I am not comfortable with the specific model that Szemerényi proposes for metanalysis: *τὸ νασάμινθον > *τὸν ἀσάμινθον. The demonstrative pronoun during this early period of Greek was not as common as the definite article (into which it developed) was in later Greek—whose ubiquity was admittedly the cause of many metanalyses, even into the modern period (e.g., agglutination in τὸν ὦμον > τὸν νῶμον 'shoulder,' τὴν οὐράν > τὴν νουράν 'tail'). Even more troublesome about his model is the transformation of gender from neuter to masculine, particularly in a noun that probably was then, as it surely was later (cf. *Od.* 4.48, 128, 17.87, *Il.* 10.576), of the feminine gender.[10]

Szemerényi assumes that the metanalysis took place in the Mycenaean Greek vernacular. While this is possible, I prefer some different models—e.g., *ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον > *ἀργυρέαν ἀσάμινθον; *ἐΰξέσταν νασάμινθον > *ἐΰξέσταν ἀσάμινθον—which I believe point to an early poetic diction as the mechanism for metanalysis. Let me state explicitly what has as yet remained unarticulated: that the avenue from the foreign loan word *namsû* to the Linear B *a-sa-mi-to* and eventually to the Homeric ῥ' ἀσάμινθ- was paved by a long oral tradition of Mycenaean and Dark Age epic poetry.

Had we no other vestiges of Mycenaean vocabulary in our inherited epic verse (φάσγανον ἀργυρόηλον, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη, etc.), the survival in Homer of ἀσάμινθος alone would be sufficient evidence of the existence of a Mycenaean epic tradition that included a description of bathing. But in this case we are blessed with much more: the Homeric bathing type-scene in particular, rich as it is in Mycenaean vocabulary (λοετροχόος, χέρνιψ, τρίπους, πρόχοος, ἔλαιον, etc.), is deeply indebted to a Mycenaean epic tradition in which the ritual of bathing played a significant part.[11] Luxurious items of the Mycenaean palace culture like ἀσάμινθοι may have physically disappeared during the subsequent Dark Age, but their memory survived because of their inclusion in the conservative and formulaic diction of the epic art language.

The phonetic setting for the metanalysis *νασάμινθος > ἀσάμινθος, then, was Mycenaean epic verse, of which we can enjoy more than a

[10] That the feminine o-stems were a commonplace during this period is evidenced by their frequency in the Linear B texts: e.g., *a-pi-qo-ro* (ἀμφίπολος), *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* (λοετροχόος), *ka-na-ko* (κνῆκος).

[11] So J.K. Probonas (1992). One may draw more general support for the notion of Homeric indebtedness to a Mycenaean epic tradition from the fact that about half of the thirty terms for vessels used by Homer have Mycenaean correspondences; see D. Anderson (1994–1995) 319–322.

glimpse through the prism of the over two-hundred thousand words of 8th century epic that have survived in our Homeric texts. I propose that Mycenaean epic had a number of phrases to describe the common activity of bathing, all of which could be accommodated in the common metrical spaces of which the dactylic hexameter verse is composed:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – ×	*ἐν νασάμινθον (cf. *Od.* 8.450, 10.361)[12]
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ×	*ἐξ νασαμίνθῳ (cf. *Od.* 3.468, 8.456, 23.163, 24.370)[13]
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×	*ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον (cf. *Od.* 4.128)
⏑ / – – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×	*ἐΰξέσταν νασάμινθον (cf. *Il.* 10.576; *Od.* 4.48, 17.87).

It is possible, of course, that the metanalysis *νασάμινθος > ἀσάμινθος occurred independently in the Mycenaean vernacular, as Szemerényi assumes: because it was a foreign loan word for a luxury item not used by the common people, it was especially prone to misunderstanding and misanalysis; and in an attempt to Hellenize this word its form could easily have been decapitated to look more Greek (Greek words with initial α- outnumber those with initial ν- by a large factor). But it seems to me that Mycenaean epic verse provided a much more fertile field for the metanalysis than the spoken vernacular for two additional reasons: epic verse is composed formulaically, rather than word by word, so that metanalysis of phonetic juxtapositions in formulas like *ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον > *ἀργυρέαν ἀσάμινθον and *ἐΰξέσταν νασάμινθον > *ἐΰξέσταν ἀσάμινθον is almost inevitable (cf. pre-Homeric *ἤνιν νηκέστην ἱερευσέμεν > *ἤνιν ἠκέστην ἱερευσέμεν); and this tendency toward metanalysis is further motivated by the well-known aversion of Greek epic verse to overlengthened syllables (i.e., syllables that are long both by nature and position), such as the two instances here (*ἀργυρέᾱν ν-; *ἐΰξέστᾱν ν-).

Once the metanalysis in formulaic phrases like *ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον > *ἀργυρέαν ἀσάμινθον and *ἐΰξέσταν νασάμινθον > *ἐΰξέσταν

[12] Although no certain examples of the independent use of ἐν as a preposition are attested on the Linear B tablets, ἐν frequently occurs in compounds; and the construction ἐν + accusative has left traces in the fossilized Homeric adverbs ἐνῶπα and ἐνδέξια. The Arcado-Cyprian evidence (e.g., ἰ(ν) τὰ(ν) θιόν) leads to the conclusion that in the Mycenaean dialect ἐν + accusative with allative meaning was maintained (cf. Latin *in* + accusative).

[13] Although no certain examples of ἐξ are attested on the Linear B tablets, Arcado-Cyprian evidence (e.g., ἐξ τῷ ϝοίκῳ) leads to the conclusion that in the Mycenaean dialect the preposition ἐξ took the dative case.

ἀσάμινθον had occurred, it readily spread to the prepositional phrases *ἐν νασάμινθον > *ἐν ἀσάμινθον and *ἐξ νασαμίνθῳ > *ἐξ ἀσαμίνθῳ. The prepositional phrase *ἐν ἀσάμινθον, now rendered unmetrical by the metanalysis, had to be further modified by the insertion of the particle ῥ' if it was to have a future in dactylic hexameter epic verse; hence, *ἐν ῥ' ἀσάμινθον. And *ἐξ ἀσαμίνθῳ quickly followed suite; hence, *ἐξ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθῳ.

The many linguistic changes that occurred between the Mycenaean period and Homer (ἐν > ἐνς > εἰς, ἐς + accusative; ἐξ + dative > ἐξ/ἐκ + genitive; genitive -οιο > -οο > -ου), as Greek epic verse during its spread eastward went through an Aeolic and then an Ionic phase, resulted ultimately in the fossilized system of formulas that we observe in our surviving Homeric texts: ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθ-ον (-ους) / ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθ-ου (-ων), which along with a form of βαίνω fills the metrical space between verse-beginning and third-foot caesura (– ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – [⏑]).

In sum, this luxurious item of the Mycenaean palace culture, an ἀσάμινθος, which had physically fallen into disuse during the Dark Age, and whose very name had no doubt been forgotten in the vernacular, survived by being embedded in this fossilized system of formulas—a system that can be traced back through the Dark Age to its origins in Mycenaean epic verse. This system had become so fossilized that even though in the Ionic dialect of Homer's day εἰς ἀσάμινθ-ον (-ους) and ἐξ ἀσαμίνθ-ου (-ων) could have provided metrically identical alternatives for ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμινθ-ον (-ους) and ἔκ ῥ' ἀσαμίνθ-ου (-ων), they were in practice never substituted. The ancient particle ἄρα continued to cling to ἀσάμινθος more tenaciously than to any other word in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.[14]

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[14] I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Professors Cornelius Ruijgh and Thomas Palaima on matters of Greek dialectology and Mycenology raised in this chapter. An earlier version appeared in the journal *Mnemosyne* (see S. Reece [2002]).

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

SWIFT-RUNNING HERMES
ΣΩ͂ΚΟΣ / ὮΚΎΣ

In the early books of the *Iliad* the Olympian gods tamper, albeit infrequently and inconspicuously, in human affairs, but they generally follow Zeus' directive in the council of gods in Book 8 to give assistance neither to the Achaeans nor the Trojans; not until the beginning of Book 20 do the gods openly declare their allegiances and fight undisguised on the battlefield in the so-called Theomachia ('Battle of the Gods'). Athena bellows out in exhortation on the Achaean side, Ares is her counterpart on the Trojan side: the goddess of disciplined warfare against the god of frenzied violence, the berserker. Poseidon squares off against Apollo: the two most powerful male deities on each side. Hephaestus squares off against the river Xanthus: the primordial elements of fire and water. Less explicably, Hera squares off against Artemis, much to the humiliation of the inferior goddess, who is boxed on the ears with her own bow and arrows. Odder yet, Hermes, who has not previously revealed his allegiance, squares off against Leto, an unlikely combatant in any event (*Il.* 20.72):

> Λητοῖ δ' ἀντέστη σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς

This pairing is remarkable, to be sure; Hermes is embarrassed by it and throws in the towel even before they have a chance to begin: "I will not come to blows with a bride of Zeus; go ahead and boast to the other gods that you were the victor (*Il.* 21.498–501 [paraphrase])." But even more remarkable than the context is the formulaic phrase used here to describe Hermes: σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς. It is difficult in several respects:

1) This combination of words—the two epithets and the name Hermes—occurs only here in epic verse, and even the combination ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς occurs in but one other passage in this order and in this metrical position: *H.Herm.* 145 Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς, which is equally remarkable for its improvisational appearance.[1]

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[1] In *H.Herm.* 145 Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς, which is apparently modeled on the more

2) σῶκος is etymologically obscure; in this adjectival form it is a *hapax legomenon*, not only in Homer but in all of Greek, save in passages imitating Homer. Hence there is no satisfactory etymology in Greek itself, and there are no convincing cognates in the other Indo-European languages.
3) ἐριούνιος is almost as difficult and has been variously understood since antiquity—and also today.
4) Ἑρμῆς is a very rare modernization of the traditional form Ἑρμείας. It occurs only here in the *Iliad* and only four times in the *Odyssey*, once at verse end; in the later *Hymns* it is the regular form.
5) Finally, and most remarkable of all, this verse does not scan properly; the lengthening of the second syllable of σῶκος is metrically inexplicable.

In short, this phrase looks like a relatively late modification of a traditional formula, composed in a new arrangement from bits and pieces of inherited phrases. By 'relatively late' I do not mean that the phrase is a post-Homeric textual interpolation; I mean rather that it is 'late' in terms of the productive and fluid period of the living oral epic tradition that preceded the fossilization of the Homeric epics into textual form, probably in the late 8th century. I would like to propose some possible models and a possible line of evolution for the phrase. Ideally the hypothetical model for σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς should:

1) Scan properly. As it is, the second syllable of σῶκος is metrically long, and there is no historical linguistic reason for the anomaly (e.g., ἐριούνιος did not ever have an initial digamma or sigma that would enable the preceding syllable to 'make position'). Nor does this fall under the category of metrical anomalies generally referred to as 'poetic license'; such 'poetic license' is understandable, and can be tolerated, under certain conditions—as the outcome of the juxtaposition of two separate traditional formulas, for example—but it is extremely rare within a formulaic phrase, as here between two epithets of a deity.[2]

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natural formulaic expression in *H.Herm.* 28 Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος υἱός, either the adjective is functioning as a noun, or the word υἱός is to be understood, as it is in but one other formula in Homer: Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας (7x Homer), which similarly appears to be an improvisation of Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός (*Il.* 13.701; 14.520).

[2] On the relatively frequent 'metrical irregularities' of hiatus and brevis in longo found at the juxtaposition of separate formulaic phrases, see *MHV* 191–239.

2) Replace Ἑρμῆς, a rare (1x *Iliad*; 4x *Odyssey*) and late contracted Ionic form, probably from Homer's own vernacular, with the earlier and better attested epic form Ἑρμείᾱς. Both the normal uncontracted Ionic form Ἑρμέης and the regular epic form Ἑρμείᾱς derive ultimately from *Ἑρμᾱhᾱς, cf. Mycenaean *E-ma-a*$_2$, the epic form being an artificial compromise between the Ionic Ἑρμέης (which as a cretic cannot be accommodated in epic verse) and the Common Greek *Ἑρμᾱhᾱς.[3]
3) Make sense semantically as a group of words. Even in the highly traditional and ornamental language of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, the individual epithets should convey a meaning that pertains to the character and attributes of Hermes, the two epithets should complement each other semantically, and the combination of epithets should harmonize with the contextual environment in which they occur.

The first two desiderata are easily satisfied: the first, as we shall see, either by separating or rearranging the components of the formula; the second simply by replacing Ἑρμῆς with the earlier Ἑρμείας. The third requires more ingenuity and further explication.

Let us consider the easier of the two epithets first. Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος was variously explained in antiquity. 'Most Beneficent' (from ἐρι 'very' + ὀνίνημι 'benefit') has been the most prevalent understanding of the epithet by lexicographers and commentators of Homer from at least as early as the Alexandrian period—and probably much earlier, perhaps even as early as the Homeric period itself—until the present day: so *Hymn to Hermes* (apparently in a pun); epic poet of the *Phoronis* (apparently); scholia to *Iliad, Odyssey*, Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and Lucian's *Icaromenippus*; Lucius Annaeus Cornutus; Apollonius Sophista; Aelius Herodianus; Aelius Aristides (apparently); Hesychius; *Etymologicum Genuinum*; the *Suda*; *Etymologicum Magnum*; Eustathius.[4] 'Chthonic

[3] So C.J. Ruijgh (1967) 266, n. 154; cf. R. Janko (1982) 133–134; *Hoekstra*, *Commentary* on *Od*. 15.319; S. Reece (1993) 161.

[4] In *H.Herm*. 24–35, a passage in which Hermes is described inventing the lyre from a tortoise shell, the hymnist seems to be suggesting an etymological connection between Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος in verse 28 and μέγ᾽ ὀνήσιμον, a virtual gloss of the epithet, in verse 30; cf. ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσῃ in verse 34 and σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις, again, a virtual gloss of the epithet, in verse 35. See S. Reece (1997). The poet of the epic *Phoronis*, as quoted in *Et. Gen*. sub ἐριούνιος, seems to make a connection between Hermes' epithet and his instinct for profit (κέρδος): ἐριούνιος· ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἁπλούστερον παρὰ τὸ ἔρι ἐπιτατικὸν καὶ τὴν ὄνησιν ὁ μεγάλως ὠφελῶν. ὠφελιμώτατος γὰρ ὁ Ἑρμῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα γράψας φησίν· Ἑρμείαν δὲ πατὴρ Ἐριούνιον ὠνόμασ᾽ αὐτόν· ‖ πάντας γὰρ μάκαράς τε θεοὺς

One' (from *ἔρα 'earth'; cf. ἔραζε): so Aristophanes (apparently); 3rd c. B.C. epitaph (apparently); scholia to *Iliad*; Apollonius Sophista; Antoninus Liberalis (of Persephone and Hades); Porphyry; Hesychius; *Etymologicum Magnum*; Eustathius.[5] 'Speaker' (from ἐρῶ 'speak'):

θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους || κέρδεσι κλεπτοσύνῃσί τ' ἐκαίνυτο τεχνηέσσαις. For this understanding of the epithet among the ancient lexicographers, see scholia on *Il.* 20.34: ἐριούνης—ὁ μέγιστα ὠφελῶν, πλεονάζοντος τοῦ ‹υ›; ἐριούνης—μεγάλην ὄνησιν παρέχων, μεγαλωφελής; scholia on *Od.* 8.322: ἐριούνης—μεγαλωφελής, ἐκ τοῦ ἐρι ἐπιτατικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὄνησις ἡ ὠφέλεια; scholia on Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1144–46: τὸν ἐριούνιον—τὸν μεγαλωφελῆ; Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 21 (in C. Lang's edition): εἶτα ἐριούνιος ἐπονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλωφελής τις εἶναι; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 76, cf. 148 (in I. Bekker's edition): ἐριούνιος—ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ, ὁ μεγάλως ὀνίσκων, τουτέστιν ὠφελῶν; *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 273: ἐριούνιος—παρὰ τὸ ὀνῶ ἐριόνης ἐστὶ καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ‹υ› ἐριούνης· τὸ δὲ ἐρί ἐπιτατικόν ἐστιν· ἐριούνης οὖν ὁ μεγάλως ὠφελῶν; Aelius Aristides, Πρὸς Πλάτωνα περὶ Ῥητορικῆς 2.106 (in W. Dindorf's edition): καὶ ἀκάκητά γε καὶ ἐριούνιον, ὅτι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῦ δωρεά, ἀγαθὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἅπαντα πορίζει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐν πολέμοις, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐν γῇ, ἐν θαλάττῃ, ἐν δυσκολίαις, ἐν εὐφροσύναις πανταχοῦ; scholia on Lucian's *Icaromenippus* 40.10: ἐριούνιος—ὠφελιμώτατος; *Hesychius* sub ἐριούνης: μεγάλως ὠφελῶν, ἢ μεγάλην ὄνησιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχων; ἐριούνιος—πολυωφελής. ἀγαθός; *Suda* sub ἐριούνιος—μεγαλωφελής. ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ; *Et. Magn.* sub Ἐριούνιος...πολυωφελής; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 8.322: Ἐριούνης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ὡς ἐν ὀλιγίστῳ εἰπεῖν, ὁ ἄγαν ὀνῶν ὅ ἐστιν ὠφελῶν; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.34: Ἐριούνης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἢ παρὰ τὸ ‹ἐρι› ἐπιτατικὸν καὶ τὸ ὀνῶ, ὁ ἄγαν ὀνῶν καὶ ὠφελῶν.

[5] The comic poet Aristophanes' juxtaposition of the two epithets ἐριούνιος and χθόνιος seems to point to a perceived association in his *Frogs* 1144–46: Οὐ δῆτ' ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἐριούνιον || Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, κἀδήλου λέγων || ὁτιὴ πατρῷον τοῦτο κέκτηται γέρας. Yet the scholia on this passage seem to dissociate the epithet from Hermes' chthonic functions: τί γὰρ τοῦτό φησιν· "οὐ δῆτα ἐκεῖνον, ἤτοι τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐριούνιον," ἢ "τὸν ἐριούνιον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε"; καὶ μὴν ἐριούνιος καὶ μεγαλωφελὴς Ἑρμῆς ἢ ὁ οὐράνιος ἢ ὁ ἐπίγειος, οὐ μὴν ὁ καταχθόνιος λέγεται. θαυμάσιον ἀστεῖον πίνεις οἶνον, θαυμάσιον. τὸν ἐριούνιον—τὸν μεγαλωφελῆ. *SEG* xxxiv.497.7 f, a 3rd c. B.C. Thessalian epitaph, apparently in reference to the epithet's chthonic associations, states that Hermes ἐριούνιος conducted a dead man and his wife to the island of the pious. Antoninus Liberalis ch. 25 (in I. Cazzaniga's edition), in his tale of the daughters of Orion, refers to Persephone and Hades both as δύο τοὺς ἐριουνίους θεούς and χθονίους δαίμονας, apparently in connection with the epithet's chthonic meaning. For this understanding of the epithet among the ancient lexicographers, see scholia on *Il.* 20.34: ἐριούνης—οἱ δὲ τραγικοὶ τὸν καταχθόνιον. ἐπεὶ οὖν μετὰ λόγου ποιοῦνται τὴν μάχην οἱ Ἕλληνες, βοηθεῖ αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ Κυλλήνην; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 76 (in I. Bekker's edition): ἐριούνιος· ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ, ὁ μεγάλως ὀνίσκων, τουτέστιν ὠφελῶν. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τοῦ χθονίου, παρὰ τὴν ἔραν; *Porphyry* on *Od.* 24.1: ὁ δὲ ἐριούνιος ἐκ τῆς ἔρας παραφωνεῖται. καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλῆν δὲ εἰς Ἀιδου Ἑρμείας πέμπει σὺν Ἀθηνᾷ, ὅτε τὸν Κέρβερον ἀνήγαγε; *Hesychius* sub ἐριούνιον· †πόρον τὸν ὑποχθόνιον; *Et. Magn.* sub Ἐριούνιος...χθόνιος; *Eustathius* on *Od.* 24.201: Ἔτι πῶς, φασὶ, χθόνιόν τε καὶ ψυχοστόλον ἀσυνήθως καλεῖ τὸν Ἑρμῆν; ἡ λύσις, ὅτι συνῳδὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἰλιακοῖς, ἔνθα ἐριούνιον αὐτὸν καλεῖ καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων· ὁ δὲ ἐριούνιος ἐκ τῆς ἔρας παραφωνεῖται; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.34: Ἐριούνης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἢ παρὰ τὸ ‹ἐρι› ἐπιτατικὸν καὶ τὸ ὀνῶ, ὁ ἄγαν ὀνῶν καὶ ὠφελῶν, ἢ ὁ ἐφευρετικὸς παρὰ τὸ εὑρεῖν, ἢ χθόνιος κατὰ τοὺς Τραγικοὺς παρὰ τὴν ἔραν.

so scholia to *Odyssey*; Eustathius (apparently).[6] 'Inventor' (from ἐφευρετικός 'inventive'): so Eustathius.[7] 'Searcher' (from ἐρευνητικός 'inquisitive'): so scholia to *Iliad; Etymologicum Magnum*.[8]

Of these ancient etymologies the first—'most beneficent' (from ἐρι + ὀνίνημι)—is the most well founded, both on lexical and semantic grounds. Surely the prefix ἐρι, very common in Homer, especially in names and epithets, is part of the etymology; and ὀνίνημι fits the contextual environment semantically in most passages. Modern pedagogical dictionaries and popular translations have not unexpectedly followed in the steps of their ancient counterparts in understanding the epithet as 'most beneficent.'[9]

But the strength of tradition has perhaps outweighed philological acumen here, for, while the case for ἐρι is compelling, the shift from ὀν- to οὑν-, which the ancient etymologizers simply ascribed to a 'pleonasm' of the letter υ, is rather difficult, and in any case the adjectival form of the verb ὀνίνημι is ὀνήσιμος (so *H.Herm.* 30), not *ὄνιος. Moreover, it has recently been recognized that two dialect glosses listed by Hesychius seem to point the way to a sounder etymology:

> οὖνον· [ὑγιές] Κύπριοι δρόμον ('racecourse') [= Hsch. *O* 1793]
> οὔνη· δεῦρο, δράμε, Ἀρκάδες (Arcadian οὔνη = Attic οὔνει, imperative of *οὔνημι or *οὐνέω; i.e., 'run!') [= Hsch. *O* 1785]

It should not escape our notice that, save for the Linear B tablets, Arcadian and Cyprian are the closest of the surviving Greek dialects to Mycenaean, and that because of the wide-spread dispersion of Greek speakers in the post-Mycenaean period generally and the subsequent

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6 Scholia on *Od.* 8.322: ἐριούνης—ἐριούνιον λέγει τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρῶ τὸ λέγω. αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ λόγου ἔφορος; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.72: Λητοῖ δέ, φησίν, ἀντέστη σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς. οἵπερ αὖθις ἠθικῶς ἐκλαμβάνονται, ἣ μὲν εἰς λήθην, ὃ δὲ εἰς λόγον μεταγόμενοι. καὶ ὁμολογήσει Ἑρμῆς, ὅτι ὦ Λητοῖ, "ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔ τι μαχήσομαι." οὐ γὰρ δύναται λόγος λήθης καυχήσασθαι. ἄμαχον γάρ τι χρῆμα ἡ λήθη. Here the explicit association of Hermes with λόγος implies a perceived association of ἐριούνιος with ἐρῶ.

7 *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.34: Ἐριούνης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἢ παρὰ τὸ ‹ἐρι› ἐπιτατικὸν καὶ τὸ ὀνῶ, ὁ ἄγαν ὀνῶν καὶ ὠφελῶν, ἢ ὁ ἐφευρετικὸς παρὰ τὸ εὑρεῖν...

8 Scholia on *Il.* 20.34: ἐριούνης—ὁ ἐρευνητικός· λόγος γάρ ἐστιν; *Et. Magn.* sub Ἐριούνιος· χθόνιος, ἀγαθός, πολυωφελής, κλέπτης, μέγας. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ... ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρευνήσεως.

9 So Liddell and Scott's *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*, and the two most popular Homeric dictionaries used in American schools today: R.J. Cunliffe's *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* and G. Autenrieth's *A Homeric Dictionary*. So also the popular English translations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by R. Lattimore and A. Cook.

geographical isolation of these two dialects specifically, the intersection of Arcadian and Cyprian (as here) is virtually equivalent to Common Greek, i.e., Mycenaean. The prefix *e-ri-* (ἐρι-) appears in the Linear B texts, and it is a component of several compound names of ancient origin found in Homer (Ἐριχθόνιος, Ἐριῶπις, Ἐριφύλη, cf. Ἐρεχθεύς, Ἀριάδνη); so, if in Mycenaean, as reconstructed from the Arcadian and Cyprian glosses, the root οὐν- meant 'run, runner, racecourse,' it would appear that the epithet ἐριούνιος originally meant in Common Greek something like 'good-running' (the intensive prefix ἐρι- plus the adjective οὔνιος 'running'). Although this meaning was eventually forgotten, the epithet itself survived, albeit with a new meaning (or meanings), in the traditional diction of the epic art language.[10]

Two other lexical entries in Hesychius, οὔνιος and οὔνης, not explicitly attributed to Arcadian or Cyprian, lend some support to this view by providing the additional meanings δρομεύς ('runner') and κλέπτης ('thief' [who, like a runner, is stealthy]):

> οὔνιος, εὖνις [= οὔνης?]· δρομεύς, κλέπτης ('runner,' 'thief') [= Hsch. *O* 1794]
> οὔνης· κλέπτης, κλεπτοσύνη, †φαρεια ('thief,' 'thievishness') [= Hsch. *O* 1791]

Further support for the interpretation of Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος as 'good-running' can be drawn from the general prevalence in ancient Greek of names and epithets that praise the bearer's quickness. In

[10] The first to reinterpret the epithet in view of the Hesychian glosses was T. Bergk, in a very short note in *Philologus* (1856). In general agreement with Bergk are (in chronological order): O. Hoffmann (1891) 122, 276; *Bechtel* sub ἐριούνης; L. Radermacher (1931) 58; C.M. Bowra (1934) 68; K. Latte (1955) 192–195, who marshals the support of the inscriptions from Kafizin on Cyprus that contain the full name Ὀνησαγόρας Φιλουνίου Κουρεύς, which corresponds to the Athenian name Φιλόδρομος (in agreement with Latte on the significance of these inscriptions is T.B. Mitford [1980] 256, n. 6; in disagreement is O. Masson [1961] 254–256 and [1981] 637); C.J. Ruijgh (1957) 135–136; *GEW* sub ἐριούνης; *DELG* sub ἐριούνης, who cautions that even if we reach a general agreement as to the epithet's meaning, it will ever remain uncertain how the poet and his contemporary audience understood it; *LSJ Supplement* sub ἐριούνιος; *LfgrE* sub ἐριούνης; *Hainsworth*, *Odyssey Commentary* on 8.322–23; *Edwards*, *Commentary* on *Il.* 20.34–35; *Janko*, *Commentary* 11 and on *Il.* 16.185–87. Oddly enough, the 5th c. A.D. epic poet Nonnus seems to have anticipated T. Bergk's interpretation by fourteen centuries in his apparent translation of ἐριούνιος as ἐρίδρομος in his *Dionysiaca* 23.28; on this point see S. Reece (2001a).

Homer alone we have Μόλος, Μούλιος, Μολίων, etc., from μολεῖν ('to run'); Πρόθοος, Πάνθοος, Ἀλκάθοος, etc., from θοός ('quick'); Ὄρμενος from ὀρνύμεναι ('to rush'); Δρῆσος from διδράσκειν ('to run'); Ωκύαλος from a combination of ὠκύς ('swift') and ἀλέσθαι ('to spring'); also the epithet ποδήνεμος ('wind-footed'), and, of course, the ubiquitous epithets of 'swift-footed' Achilles—ποδάρκης, ποδώκης, and πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.[11] An understanding of Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος as 'good-running' is certainly suitable in this context, and it corresponds well with his later epithet on Crete as god of the race-course: Δρόμιος.[12] All this incidentally lends support to the interpretation of the name Φιλούνιος, found on inscriptions from Kafizin on Cyprus, as 'lover of running,' corresponding to the common Athenian name Φιλόδρομος.[13] Φιλούνιος, the only example of a name that includes the component under consideration—ουν—is very similar indeed, then, to Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος.

Finally we should not lose sight of the obvious fact that an understanding of Hermes' epithet ἐριούνιος as 'good-running' is in perfect harmony with one of Hermes' main attributes, as swift-running messenger of the gods (cf. *Od.* 5.28ff.; *H.Dem.* 340ff.; *Hymn* 29.7–8; Hesiod *Theogony* 938–39; Hesiod *Works and Days* 84–85; Hesiod fr. 170), who almost always moves 'quickly' (αἶψα *Il.* 24.346; καρπαλίμως *Il.* 24.441; ῥίμφα *Il.* 24.691), like a 'blast of wind' (ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο *Il.* 24.342; *Od.* 5.46) or like a 'rushing bird' (σεύατ'…ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς *Od.* 5.51). The epithet ἐριούνιος is particularly appropriate to the context in such passages as *H.Dem.* 407, where Ἑρμῆς ἐριούνιος has been sent as 'swift messenger' (ἄγγελος ὠκύς) from Zeus to Hades in order to retrieve Persephone:

> εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ]' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς

Or in *H.Herm.* 3 = *Hymn* 18.3, where Ἑρμῆς ἐριούνιος is praised in a proem of a hymn as messenger of the gods:

> ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα

[11] For a collection of Greek names associated with quickness, see H. von Kamptz (1982) 190, 198–199, 227, 233–234, 245–247.

[12] *GDI* 5115 in H. Collitz (1884–1915).

[13] See K. Latte (1955) 192–195.

And in *Hymn* 19.28–29, where Ἑρμείης ἐριούνιος is praised explicitly as 'swift messenger' (θοὸς ἄγγελος) of the gods:

> ὑμνεῦσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον·
> οἷόν θ᾽ Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων
> ἔννεπον ὡς ὅ γ᾽ ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι·

There remains the rather more vexed problem of the etymology of Hermes' other epithet σῶκος. In this adjectival form it is a *hapax legomenon*, not only in Homer but in all of Greek, save in passages imitating Homer: Lucian's *Juppiter Tragoedus*, the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum*, Gregorius Nazianzenus' *Christus Patiens*.[14] Σῶκος occurs five times as the name of a Trojan prince whom Odysseus kills in Book 11 of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 11.427, 428, 440, 450, 456), and a possibly related verb form σωκεῖν occurs in two dramatic passages, Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 36 and Sophocles' *Electra* 119. But these provide no satisfactory etymology in the Greek language itself, and there are no convincing cognates in the other Indo-European languages. As was the case with ἐριούνιος, the ancients proposed several ingenious etymologies for σῶκος. 'Savior' (from σώζειν 'to save'): so scholia to *Iliad*; Eustathius.[15] 'Savior of the House' (from σωσίοικος 'saving the house'; or σωτὴρ τῶν οἴκων 'savior of houses'): so scholia to *Iliad*; Lucius Annaeus Cornutus; Apollonius Sophista; Aelius Herodianus; scholia to Lucian's *Icaromenippus*; Hesychius; Eustathius.[16] 'Strong One' (from σωκεῖν 'to be strong/able/

[14] Lucian, *Juppiter Tragoedus* 2.40.19 (in A.M. Harmon's edition); the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum* 1.173 (in F. Cumont's edition); Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Christus Patiens* 2074 (in A. Tulier's edition).

[15] Scholia on *Il.* 20.72: σῶκος—ὡς παρὰ τὸ θάσσω θᾶκος, σάω σάκος, οὕτω σῴζω σῶκος; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 11.427: Ὁ δὲ Σῶκος ὁμωνυμεῖται τῷ Ἑρμῇ. ἀναπτύσσεται δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ σῴζειν…; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.72: ὥσπερ θάσσω θᾶκος, σάω σάκος, οὕτω καὶ σώω σῶκος ὁ σωστικός.

[16] Scholia on *Il.* 20.72: σῶκος—ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν. οὕτω δὲ δώσουσι καὶ προσκείμενον τῷ ‹ω› τὸ ‹ι›, τῆς παραδόσεως οὐχ οὕτως ἐχούσης. τὰ μέντοι εἰς ‹κοσ› λήγοντα δισύλλαβα, ‹οὐ› παρεσχηματισμένα εἰς γένος θηλυκὸν, φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, "οἶκος" (Ο 498, α 232, al.), "φῶκος," "θῶκος" (cf. Θ 439, ε 3, al.); Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 21 (in C. Lang's edition): σῶκος ὡσὰν σωτὴρ τῶν οἴκων ὑπάρχων; Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 148 (in I. Bekker's edition): σῶκος—ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπίων ἀποδίδωσι σῶκος σωσίοικος…; *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 147: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν. οὕτω δὲ δώσουσι καὶ προσκείμενον τῷ ‹ω› τὸ ‹ι›, τῆς παραδόσεως οὐχ οὕτως ἐχούσης; *Herodian* Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς Προσῳδίας 113: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν· οὕτω…; *Herodian* Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας 586: ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ κρᾶσιν…; *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν (supplementum) 319: ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν…; *Herodian Schematismi Homerici* 95.1: Σῶκος. ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ, σάοικος, ὁ τοὺς οἴκους σώζων…; scholia on Lucian's *Icaromenippus* 40.9: σῶκος—οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο

capable'): so inferred from the name Σῶκος in Book 11 of the *Iliad*; so inferred from verb forms in Aeschylus and Sophocles; scholia to *Iliad*; Lucius Annaeus Cornutus; Aelius Herodianus; Hesychius; Eustathius.[17] 'The Swiftly Hastening One' (from ὁ ὠκέως σοούμενος 'the one hastening swiftly'): so Apollonius Sophista.[18] 'The One Hearing Certain Things' (from σῶα ἀκούοντα 'hearing certain things'): so Hesychius.[19]

The most profound influence on our modern understanding of the epithet has issued from the verb form σωκεῖν, which occurs but twice in all of Greek, once in Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 36) and again in Sophocles (*Electra* 119), apparently meaning in these contexts 'to be strong/able/capable.' The often proposed meaning 'strong' has been further buoyed by the supposed derivation of both the verbal and

ὁ Ἑρμῆς οἱονεὶ σωσίοικος; *Hesychius* sub σῶκος: σωσίοικος, σάοικος; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 11.427: Ὁ δὲ Σῶκος ὁμωνυμεῖται τῷ Ἑρμῇ . . . παρὰ τὸ σάειν οἶκον, ὅ ἐστι σῴζειν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀποδέχονται οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς μηδὲ προσγράφοντες τὸ ἰῶτα ἐν τῷ Σῶκος; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.72: οὐκ ἀρέσκει δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σάοικος κραθῆναι τὴν λέξιν, ἵνα ᾖ σῶκος ὁ σῴζων τοὺς οἴκους, ὡς ἂν μὴ πρόσκειται, φασίν, ἤγουν προσγράφηται, ἐν τῇ παραληγούσῃ τὸ ‹ι› τῆς παραδόσεως οὐχ' οὕτως ἐχούσης.

[17] Σῶκος is the name of a Trojan prince whom Odysseus kills (mentioned at *Il.* 11.427, 428, 440, 450, 456). Although he is Trojan, his father Hippasos has a Greek name (it is common in Greek inscriptions) and his brother Charops a Mycenaean name (it appears on Linear B tablets); two other 'sons of Hippasos' are mentioned at *Il.* 13.411—a Trojan Hypsenor (another good Greek name)—and at *Il.* 17.348—a Paeonian Apisaon (cf. Mt. Apesas by Nemea). It is by no means unusual for the Trojans and their allies to be assigned Greek names; more than twenty of fifty-eight names found to be common to epic and the Linear B tablets are assigned to Trojans or their allies (so M. Ventris and J. Chadwick [1959] 104–105). This increases the likelihood that the name Σῶκος conveyed some meaning in Greek rather than being an utterly foreign word. And if it is Greek, it seems plausible that it meant something like 'strong,' perhaps related to the verb form σωκεῖν, which, while not a part of the epic *Kunstsprache*, may have been part of Homer's vernacular, since it later appears twice in drama apparently meaning 'to be strong/able/capable': Aeschylus *Eumenides* 36 (ὡς μήτε σωκεῖν μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν στάσιν); Sophocles *Electra* 119 (μούνη γὰρ ἄγειν οὐκέτι σωκῶ ‖ λύπης ἀντίρροπον ἄχθος). For this understanding of the epithet among the ancient lexicographers, see scholia on *Il.* 16.181: ὅθεν καὶ "σῶκος" (Υ 72) διὰ τὸ σωκεῖν, ὅ ἐστιν ἰσχύειν; scholia on *Il.* 20.72: σῶκος—ἤτοι ὁ ἰσχυρὸς; Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 21 (in C. Lang's edition): σῶκος ὡσὰν σωτὴρ τῶν οἴκων ὑπάρχων ἤ, ὥς τινες, ἰσχυρός; *Herodian Schematismi Homerici* 95.1: Σῶκος. ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ, σάοικος, ὁ τοὺς οἴκους σώζων· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σέσωκα σωκῶ σῶκος; *Hesychius* sub σωκεῖ: ἰσχύει. βοηθεῖ; σῶκος· σωσίοικος, σάοικος. ἰσχυρός; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 11.427: Ὁ δὲ Σῶκος ὁμωνυμεῖται τῷ Ἑρμῇ. ἀναπτύσσεται δὲ ἡ λέξις αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ σῴζειν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἀπὸ τοῦ σωκῶ, ὃ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχύω κεῖται.

[18] Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* 148 (in I. Bekker's edition): σῶκος—ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀπίων ἀποδίδωσι σῶκος σωσίοικος, ἔνιοι δὲ σόωκος ὁ ὠκέως σοούμενος.

[19] *Hesychius* sub σωκόον: σῶα ἀκούοντα. τὸν Ἑρμῆν. καὶ σωσίοικον.

adjectival forms from PIE **twō-qo-s*, an extended form of **tēu-* 'to swell,' or from PIE **twāq-* or **twenq-* 'to be tightly enclosed' (cf. Greek σηκός). Hence, the meaning 'strong'—one of several possibilities proposed by the ancients—has become standard in most modern dictionaries and translations of Homer.[20]

In the absence of a fully convincing etymology, either in Greek itself or in the wider Indo-European family of languages, I would like to propose another possibility: that σῶκος is an epic neologism, an outcome of the oral/aural metanalysis of words that results quite naturally from the spontaneity of an oral verse-making tradition. Σῶκος is the outcome of a metanalysis of a phrase containing the combination -ς ὠκύς: a word ending in sigma (and most words in Greek can end in sigma) followed by the common epithet ὠκύς 'swift.' The phrase σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς originally meant, plausibly enough, 'swift, good-running, Hermes.' This is a plausible reconstruction both on phonetic and semantic grounds.

Phonetically -ς ὠκύς and σῶκος would have been nearly homophonous in the Homeric period. The difference in accentuation in the conventions of our textual tradition is no objection; we can determine with no greater certainty than the ancients whether the *hapax legomenon* σωκος was a properispomenon (σῶκος) or an oxytone (σωκός).[21] And

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[20] So *Cunliffe* sub σῶκος, *Boisacq* sub σῶκος, *Bechtel* sub σῶκος, A. Walde (1927–1932) 706, 746–747, *Pokorny* sub **twāq-*, *LSJ* sub σῶκος, *GEW* sub σῶκος, *DELG* sub σῶκος, H. von Kamptz (1982) 142, 233, *LfgE* sub σῶκος; regarding translations cf., for example, the popular English translation of the *Iliad* by R. Lattimore on *Il.* 20.72.

[21] The ancient controversy, represented on the one hand by the grammarian Tyrannion, who favored an oxytone, and on the other hand by the grammarian Herodian, who favored a properispomenon, revolved around whether the epithet should be regarded as a simple adjective, like λευκός and γλαυκός (so σωκός), or as a proper noun, like Λεῦκος or Γλαῦκος (so Σῶκος). Herodian marshaled further support for a properispomenon from Apollo's epithet Φοῖβος, as well as from other disyllables ending in -κος: οἶκος, φῶκος, θῶκος. Others, under the influence of a mistaken derivation from σάοικος, regarded the penult of σῶκος as a contraction and accented it with a circumflex accordingly. For a record of the ancient controversy, see scholia on *Il.* 20.72: σῶκος—Τυραννίων ἀξιοῖ ὀξύνειν, ἵνα ἀποφύγῃ τὸ κύριον βαρυνόμενον, "ὦ Σῶχ', Ἱππάσου υἱέ" (Λ 450), ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ "Λεῦκος" (cf. Δ 491), "Γλαῦκος" (Β 876, Ζ 119, al.). οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὅμοιον τοῖς προκειμένοις κοινοῖς ἐπίθετον, ἀλλὰ ἴδιον τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βαρυνόμενον τὸ "Φοῖβος" (Α 43, 64, al.)· διὸ βαρυτονητέον ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ κυρίῳ. εἰσὶ δέ, οἳ ἀξιοῦσι καὶ καθότι σύνθετόν ἐστι βαρύνεσθαι αὐτό· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ σάοικος γεγενῆσθαι τὴν κρᾶσιν. οὕτω δὲ δώσουσι καὶ προσκείμενον τῷ ‹ω› τὸ ‹ι›, τῆς παραδόσεως οὐχ οὕτως ἐχούσης. τὰ μέντοι εἰς ‹κος› λήγοντα δισύλλαβα, ‹οὐ› παρεσχηματισμένα εἰς γένος θηλυκόν, φύσει μακρᾷ παραληγόμενα, βαρύνεσθαι θέλει, "οἶκος" (Ο 498, α 232, al.), "φῶκος," "θῶκος" (cf. Θ 439, ε 3, al.). οὕτως σῶκος. σεσημείωται τὸ "σηκός" (cf. Σ 589, ι 219, al.). Cf. *Herodian De Prosodia Catholica* 147; *Herodian* Περὶ Κυρίων καὶ Ἐπιθέτων καὶ Προσηγορικῶν Μονόβιβλον 3; *Herodian*

the difference in the sound of υ in ὠκύς and ο in σῶκος was not as pronounced in the Homeric period in Ionia as in the Classical period in Attica, since υ, like ο, was articulated as a back rounded vowel in the earlier period, and only later, primarily in Attic, did it develop into a front vowel.

Semantically, just as an understanding of ἐριούνιος as 'good-running' is in perfect harmony with Hermes' function as swift-running messenger of the gods (cf. *Od.* 5.28ff.; *H.Dem.* 340ff.; *Hymn* 29.7–8; Hesiod *Theogony* 938–39; Hesiod *Works and Days* 84–85; Hesiod fr. 170; *H.Herm.* 3, *Hymn* 18.3, 19.28–29), so also is an understanding of σῶκος as derived from -ς ὠκύς ('swift'; cf. *Il.* 24.342, 346, 691; *Od.* 5.46, 51). The epithet ὠκέα is regularly used of Iris, Hermes' counterpart as messenger in the *Iliad* (20x), and at *H.Dem.* 407 Hermes himself is called ἄγγελος ὠκύς.

I would propose, then, that a formula, or even a system of formulas, modifying Ἑρμείας that included the epithet ἐριούνιος and the combination -ς ὠκύς was misunderstood, misheard, misdivided, rearranged, and modified, resulting eventually in our rather clumsy, and relatively modern, phrase σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72). Fortunately in the case of σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς there is sufficient material within the Homeric poems themselves to reconstruct some fairly plausible lines of evolution. Let me propose a few, which for the sake of clarity I have divided into three categories.

I. The simplest, and in some respects the most textually well grounded, hypothesis involves starting from an extant verse, like *H.Dem.* 407:

> εὖτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ]᾽ ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς[22]

Περὶ Ἰλιακῆς Προσῳδίας 113; *Herodian* Περὶ Ὀρθογραφίας 586; *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν (supplementum) 319; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 20.72.

[22] This is the reading of 'M' ('Mosquensis') = Leidensis BPG 33H, early 15th c., the only manuscript containing the entire hymn. But P. Berol. 13044 = Papyrus Orphica Berolinensis 44, mid 1st c. B.C., which contains several verses of *H.Dem.*, reads:]ọι ἄγγελος ἦλ̣[. This, along with the apparent corruptness of 'M'—the verse is obelized; ἦ[λθ]᾽ is restored by Mitscherlich—leads N.J. Richardson (1974) on verse 407 to prefer the reading of the papyrus and to place Merkelbach's restoration in his text: εὖτέ μοι ἄγγελος ἦλθ᾽ ἐριούνιος Ἀργειφόντης. This seems a bit reckless to me, especially as ἐριούνιος Ἀργειφόντης occurs nowhere in epic verse. And even if 'M' does not preserve the correct reading for *H.Dem.* 407, the verse as recorded in 'M' must come from the epic tradition—an editor would not have created the otherwise unattested juxtaposition ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς (unless, as Richardson suggests, ὠκύς came in as a gloss of ἐριούνιος—which seems unlikely to me, since ἐριούνιος was probably not understood to mean ὠκύς until modern times).

This verse looks like a modification of an earlier and more traditional:

– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς

Such a hypothetical model would restore the earlier and more traditional form of the god's name, it would position the formula Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος precisely where it occurs in all of its four occurrences in Homer, and it would leave a common colon to be filled with any of a number of possible verbal formulas, e.g.:

ἦλθεν δ'
ἵκετο δ' Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς
ὄρνυτο δ'
λάνθανε δ'

For reasons that I will elaborate below, this traditional formula was misdivided and modified, resulting eventually in the phrase found in *Il.* 20.72:

Λητοῖ δ' ἀντέστη σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς

In short: – ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς became – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς.

A variant of this hypothesis involves positioning Ἑρμείας first in the verse, as in fragment 5 of the epic *Phoronis*: Ἑρμείαν δὲ πατὴρ Ἐριούνιον ὠνόμασ' αὐτόν.[23] So:

Ἑρμείας ᴗ ᴗ / – ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς

The advantage of this model is that, like above, it would restore the more traditional form of the god's name; it would also position the name Ἑρμείας in its most common metrical position in Homer (13/17 in the nominative case in Homer; 21/33 generally), and it would leave a common colon to be filled by a verb form, e.g.:

Ἑρμείας δέ μ' ἔπεμψ' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς (cf. *Od.* 11.626)
Ἑρμείας δ' ἐρέειν' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς (cf. *Od.* 5.85).

The obvious difficulty in the two hypothetical lines of evolution proposed above is the metrical laxity one would have to assume on the part of an oral poet who heard ἄγγελος ὠκύς as ἄγγελος σῶκος and thereby regarded the newly closed final syllable of ἄγγελος as metrically

[23] Quoted in both the *Et. Gen.* and the *Et. Magn.* sub ἐριούνιος; cf. M. Davies (1988) 155, fr. 4.

short. As I shall propose below, there were some semantic forces at play that would have promoted this metanalysis, but one is left wondering if these forces were strong enough to override the metrical considerations.

This objection on metrical grounds would not apply to another related variant that involves positioning ὠκύς at the beginning of the verse, where it occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 23.880), and supposing that metanalysis occurred in combination with a final sigma at the end of the preceding verse. Thus:

ὠκὺς δ᾽ Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×

The advantages of this model are the same as those above: it would restore the more traditional form of the god's name, it would position the formula Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος precisely where it occurs in all of its four occurrences in Homer, and it would leave a common colon (bucolic diaeresis to verse end) to be filled with any of a number of possible verbal formulas. A disadvantage is that ὠκύς occurs only once in this position in Homer; moreover, if in epic performance there was a pause, or even a musical interlude, between verses, as some have suggested, metanalysis was probably less likely to occur between than within verses.

II. Let us move on now from the *obscura* of hypothetical collocations based on extant verses to the *obscuriora* of hypothetical collocations based on hypothetical verses. Although it is perhaps overly optimistic to think that we can reconstruct pre-Homeric formulas with any precision, we are nonetheless left with the bare fact that there must have been an earlier model for the phrase under consideration – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72), and it does not seem unlikely that this model may reside in one, or in some combination, of our hypothetical reconstructions. If we are to think in terms of a single model, in my view the line of evolution is best reconstructed as follows.

The first step involves positioning the formula Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος in its most traditional position:

– ⏑ ⏑ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ×

This is the position of Ἑρμείας 12/33 times in Homer. This is the position of ἐριούνιος 9/13 times in Homer. More importantly this is always the position of the entire formula Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος (4/4 times in Homer). Its position here in the verse leaves a common colon preceding (the entire first foot) and following (bucolic diaeresis to verse end).

Moreover, the formula is bisected by the very common penthemimeral caesura. Thus far it looks very traditional indeed.

The second step involves positioning the adjective ὠκύς, a common word in epic verse, and one that is an essential attribute of Hermes in his function as the messenger god, into this verse in its most traditional position:

– ⏑ ⏑ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς ⏑ / – ×

This is where the adjective occurs 37/40 times in Homer. This is also where the feminine form of the adjective ὠκέα occurs 21/22 times in Homer, often modifying Iris, Hermes' counterpart as messenger of the gods in the *Iliad*, in the formula ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις, which looks very much like the formula I have proposed for Hermes. Again, thus far it looks very traditional.

The final step involves filling out the rest of the verse with phrases that are: 1) appropriate to and characteristic of the god Hermes—his actions and attributes; 2) idiomatic and syntactically regular in epic verse; 3) traditional in nature (no new linguistic forms); 4) metrically regular. Several 'families' of formulas present themselves:

1) The 'good-running swift Hermes,' in his function as messenger of the gods, may:

αἶψα δ' ἄρ'		
αἶψα μάλ'		
αἶψα γάρ		ἵκανε(ν)
ῥίμφα δ' ἄρ'		ἔβαινε(ν)
ῥίμφα μάλ'	Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς	
		ὄρουσε(ν)
αὐτίκ' ἄρ'		
		ἔλαυνε(ν)
σπουδῇ δ'		
σπουδῇ τ'		
δή ῥα τόθ'		

2) As Hermes approaches the object of his mission, he may:

τὸν δ' αἶψ'		ἔτετμε(ν)
τὴν δ' αἶψ'	Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς	ἐγείρει
τοὺς δ' αἶψ'		ἔπειθε(ν)
τὰς δ' αἶψ'		ἄνωγε(ν)

For it is likely that Hermes has:

τὸν δ᾽ οὐκ		
τὴν δ᾽ οὐκ	Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς	ἔληθε(ν)
τοὺς δ᾽ οὐκ		
τὰς δ᾽ οὐκ		

3) Hermes' message is, of course, of prime importance, as it is generally from Zeus and the other Olympian gods:

μῦθον δ᾽		
τοῖσιν δ᾽		
τῇσιν δ᾽		
πᾶσιν δ᾽		
ἡμῖν δ᾽		
ὑμῖν δ᾽	Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς	ἐείπε(ν)
ἔνθα μοι		
ἔνθα τοι		
ἔνθα οἱ		
αὐτὸς δ᾽		
δή ῥα τόθ᾽		

4) In addition to his function as messenger, Hermes is often seen bestowing good things on humankind:

τοῖσιν δ᾽		
τῇσιν δ᾽		ἔδωκε(ν)
πᾶσιν δ᾽		ὀπηδεῖ
ἡμῖν δ᾽	Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς	ὀπάζει
ὑμῖν δ᾽		ὀπάσσει
ἔνθα μοι		ὄπασσε(ν)
ἔνθα τοι		ὁμιλεῖ
ἔνθα οἱ		ἔδειξε(ν)

5) Finally, we should note that the usefulness of this formula, like many traditional formulas, is magnified by its flexibility, for it may occur in the same position in the accusative as well as nominative case in such phrases as:

αὐτὸς δ᾽
αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽
αἶψα μάλ᾽
αἶψα γάρ
ἔπεμψε(ν)
ῥίμφα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽

ῥίμφα μάλ’	Ἑρμείαν ἐριούνιον ὠκὺν	ἔπειθε(ν)
αὐτίκ’ ἄρ’		ἄνωγε(ν)
σπουδῇ δ’		
σπουδῇ τ’		
δή ῥα τόθ’		
ῥεῖα μάλ’		

Or:

τοῖσιν δ’		
τῇσιν δ’		
πᾶσιν δ’		ὀπάζει
ἡμῖν δ’	Ἑρμείαν ἐριούνιον ὠκὺν	ὀπάσσει
ὑμῖν δ’		ὄπασσε(ν)
ἔνθα μοι		
ἔνθα τοι		
ἔνθα οἱ		

Let me hasten to admit that none of these verses actually occurs in our surviving epic corpus; they are more or less montages of traditional cola that do survive. To the objection that it is perverse for a modern scholar to create hypothetical verses in this artificial way, I would counter that we as modern scholars are simply doing through lexica and concordances what the Greek bards did intuitively. At least one of these verses, or something very like one of them, may very well have once been uttered among the many tens of thousands—even hundreds of thousands—of verses of early Greek epic that did not have the fortune to be written down and survive to our time.

In sum, then, if we are to think in terms of a single model for the formula under consideration, I would propose that the most likely scenario was that during the later stages of the oral period of Greek epic an ancient and very traditional formula – ⏑ ⏑ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς ⏑ / – × was misunderstood, hence misheard, hence misdivided, hence rearranged and modified, resulting eventually in the linguistically modern, metrically irregular, and untraditional phrase that survives in *Il.* 20.72 – ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς.

But why did such a development take place? As in the study of historical linguistics, so in the study of the development of the epic *Kunstsprache*, while it is often possible to suggest ‘what’ happened, ‘why’ it happened usually eludes us. But we may at least venture some proposals. As observed above, the evolution is partly due to the phonetic environment of the formula: -ς ὠκύς can easily be heard as σῶκος. But one may very well wonder why a bard, trained in the epic tradition,

would abandon a metrically regular and perfectly understandable formula for a metrically irregular one whose meaning was much less apparent, especially since, at least in the initial stage of metanalysis, the bard would have had to disregard the metrical anomaly created by a newly closed final syllable in the shift from ἐριούνιος ὠκύς to ἐριούνιος σῶκος. Here I would propose that semantics were at play. I suspect that already in the Homeric period the epithet ἐριούνιος had begun to be understood folk etymologically as 'most beneficent' (from ἐρι 'very' + ὀνίνημι 'benefit') rather than 'good-running' (from ἐρι 'very' + οὔνιος 'running'). This is apparently the way the poet of the epic *Phoronis* understands the epithet, and an apparent pun in the *Hymn to Hermes* (28–35) relies on this etymology (cf. note 4). Hence the formula Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος ὠκύς began to wander outside the context of Hermes' function as 'swift messenger,' the original sense of the epithet ἐριούνιος, and into the contexts of his other functions, especially those involving the god as benefactor: as god of the chance find, as the inventor and bestower of useful things, and such. In this environment the adjective ὠκύς, the other half of the formula, may have seemed semantically inappropriate ('most beneficent, swift Hermes'), inviting the metanalysis into σῶκος that was already tempting on phonetic grounds. The poet may have inferred the meaning 'strong' from the name of the Trojan warrior Σῶκος in Book 11 of the *Iliad*; or he may have simply invented the word, drawing its meaning from some such common word as σῶς ('safe') or σώζειν ('to guard/save/preserve'); there may even have existed, not in the epic *Kunstsprache*, but in the poet's vernacular, a verb form σωκεῖν, related to σῶς/σώζειν, meaning 'to be strong/able/capable,' a verb that appears twice in Greek in the later tragedians (Aeschylus *Eumenides* 36; Sophocles *Electra* 119). In creating the new formula σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς, the poet had already drawn from his own vernacular the late Ionic form Ἑρμῆς, a *hapax legomenon* in the *Iliad*; it is not beyond belief that he would draw σῶκος from the same reservoir.

III. This synergism of metrics and semantics prompts me to propose one final possible line of evolution for the new formula σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72). Unlike the hypothetical lines of evolution marshaled above, this one involves thinking of ἐριούνιος and ὠκύς as once existing as metrically useful alternative epithets for Hermes rather than as a single combined formulaic phrase. Since the two epithets meant essentially the same thing, the poet could select whichever of the two best suited the metrical situation:

– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ὠκύς ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ×
– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ×

The former would leave open the colon between the fairly common hephthemimeral caesura and verse end, the latter between the very common bucolic diaeresis and verse end.

A perusal of the surviving epic verses in which Ἑρμείας occurs in this metrical position confirms that there once existed a system of epithets available to the poet; I would argue that this system was at one time more complete than the surviving epic verses demonstrate. Depending on metrical considerations, the poet could simply include the name Ἑρμείας, without an epithet:

– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – × (*Il.* 24.690; *Od.* 1.42)

If the poet wanted to fill the space up to the very common bucolic diaeresis, there were three options available:

– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος / – ᴗ ᴗ / – × (*Il.* 24.457, cf. 679; *Hymn* 19.40, cf. 28)
– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας χρυσόρραπις / – ᴗ ᴗ / – × (*Od.* 10.277, cf. *Od.* 5.87)
– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας υἱὸς φίλος / – ᴗ ᴗ / – × (cf. *Il.* 24.333; *Od.* 5.28)

The existence of three metrically equivalent formulas for Ἑρμείας in the nominative case does not presuppose—to speak in Milman Parry's terms—a lack of 'thrift' or 'economy' in the system: the second formula allowed the poet to incorporate the vocative case—Ἑρμεία χρυσόρραπι (*Od.* 5.87)—without an unsightly hiatus; the third formula is an example of a fairly common substitution in the epic *Kunstsprache* of a rather banal genealogical formula for a very ancient, but no longer meaningful, epithet (cf. the metrically equivalent ϝεκάϝεργος Ἀπόλλων and Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων or φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη and Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη).

There is missing from this system of formulas in our surviving corpus of epic verse an epithet that would fill the space up to the hephthemimeral caesura. I propose that at one time this position was filled by the epithet ὠκύς:

– ᴗ ᴗ / Ἑρμείας ὠκύς ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ×

So long as ἐριούνιος was understood to mean 'good-running' (from ἐρι 'very' + οὔνιος 'running'), the two epithets ἐριούνιος and ὠκύς coexisted as metrically useful alternative formulas for Ἑρμείας in this position. But when—as I believe in the period shortly before Homer—ἐριούνιος came to mean 'most beneficent' (from ἐρι 'very' + ὀνίνημι 'benefit'), it became

tempting, both on the phonetic and the semantic grounds mentioned above, for Ἑρμείας ὠκύς to follow suit, leading to its metanalysis as Ἑρμείας σῶκος. The formula under consideration in *Il.* 20.72—σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς—may simply have been a conflation of what were once two metrically alternative formulas.[24]

[24] I wish to thank Professors John Garcia and John Miles Foley for inviting me to share some of the ideas offered in this chapter at a conference at the University of Iowa titled "Homer 3000: The Past, Present, and Future of Homeric Scholarship." This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Glotta* (see S. Reece [1999–2000]).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

HOMER'S BRIDGES OF WAR ΠΤΟΛΈΜΟΙΟ ΓΈΦΥΡΑΙ / ΠΤΟΛΈΜΙΌ Γ' ἜΦΥΡΑΙ

Introduction

The Homeric collocation π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας (5x *Iliad*), usually translated 'bridges of war,' 'dykes of war,' or 'causeways of battle' has all the marks of a very ancient epic formula: the alternation of πτ/π and the archaic genitive of π(τ)ολέμοιο; the near lexical isolation of γεφύρας; and, above all, the fossilization of the formula between the common hephthemimeral caesura and verse-end. In what was probably its earliest form it was preceded by the preposition ἀνά (3x), thus filling the metrical space between the third-foot trochaic caesura and verse-end; then, by analogy, by the preposition ἐπί (1x); and, finally, without any preposition (1x). The noun form π(τ)όλεμος, and its several cognates, is, of course, used regularly outside this formula in Homer (399x), but the noun form γέφυραι, and a related verb form γεφυρόω, each occur but twice outside this formula.

The Formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας

At *Il.* 4.370–73 Agamemnon chides his warriors, including Diomedes, whom he accuses of skulking in the back and eyeing the πολέμοιο γεφύρας rather than fighting the enemy far in front of his comrades as was the practice of his father Tydeos (4.371):

> τί πτώσσεις, τί δ' ὀπιπεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας

The context does not offer an unambiguous meaning for πολέμοιο γεφύρας here: while the formula seems to describe the open space between the two opposing armies, where a true hero can demonstrate his bravery and skill, it could also denote the mass of warriors on the front line of the opposing army.

At *Il.* 8.374–80 Athena and Hera threaten to enter the fray on a chariot in order to stave off Hector's assault on the Achaean ships.

Athena facetiously asks if Hector will rejoice at the appearance of the two goddesses ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας (8.378):

> γηθήσει προφανέντε ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας

Here the context suggests more strongly that the formula refers to the open space between the opposing armies, where the goddesses can fight most effectively from their chariot.

At *Il.* 8.489–565, as night has halted the Trojan assault on the Achaean ships, Hector leads his troops to an open area on the plain that is clear of corpses (489–91), and he urges them to set up their camps there. Out on the plain, between the walls of Troy and the wall the Achaeans have built to protect their ships, they encamp all night long ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας (8.553–54):

> Οἳ δὲ μέγα φρονέοντες ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας[1]
> εἵατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά.

Here, in marked contrast to its use in the other passages, the formula clearly refers to an open area that has so far been free of fighting. And only here is the formula used when no fighting is actually taking place.

Il. 11.91–279, the narrative of Agamemnon's *aristeia*, describes the king ranging throughout the plain, between the Achaean wall and the Trojan encampments, wreaking havoc on the enemy. The chaos of battle is encapsulated in the image of horses rattling their riderless chariots ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας (11.159–61):

> – – / – – / – – πολλοὶ δ' ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι
> κείν' ὄχεα κροτάλιζον ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας
> ἡνιόχους ποθέοντες ἀμύμονας·

Here the image is of the open plain between the Achaean defenses and the Trojan encampments.

During Achilles' long *aristeia* in Book 20 of the *Iliad* Apollo warns Hector not to fight in the forefront against Achilles but rather to wait for him amongst the throng of Trojan warriors (20.376–78). But

[1] The manuscript tradition is divided over the reading here: γεφύρας is well attested, but the 'vulgate' reading is γεφύρῃ, while γεφύρην, γεφύρῃς, γεφύρης, and γεφύραις also make appearances. The unique context of this passage—encampment rather than battle—along with the use of the preposition ἐπί instead of ἀνά—is probably responsible for the confusion. This has little bearing on the object of this study: the pre-Homeric shape of the formula.

when Achilles slays his brother Polydorus, he can no longer endure to remain at a distance and goes out to confront Achilles (20.419–23). When Achilles sees Hector approaching he too is eager to confront him and pleads that they no longer shrink from each other ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας (20.426–27):

> – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / – ᴗ ᴗ / οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἔτι δήν
> ἀλλήλους πτώσσοιμεν ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας.

Here the context suggests that the formula designates the actual throngs of warriors massed together on each side rather than the open space between those throngs.

In sum, the contexts of the passages in the *Iliad* where the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας occurs do not present an unambiguous meaning. In some passages the formula seems to designate the open space between two opposing armies, in others the compact throngs of the armies themselves.

The Noun γέφυρα

One might reasonably expect that an examination of the Homeric usage of the nominal and verbal forms γέφυρα/γεφυρόω outside the formula πτολέμοιο γεφύρας would shed some light on the meaning of γέφυρα within the formula. This examination we now proceed to conduct, but with the caution that it may not provide so patently clear a solution as we initially expect. It is conceivable, though perhaps counter-intuitive, for example, that the γέφυρα within and outside the formula are entirely unrelated words, i.e., that they are homonyms with no etymological relationship. Or it is possible that they are etymologically related, but that their meanings have evolved along different paths over time such that there is a perceptible difference between the meaning of γέφυρα in the ancient formula and its meaning elsewhere in Homer, and an even more pronounced difference in later Greek. Thus we must be alert to the possibility, indeed likelihood, that the meaning of γέφυρα outside the formula in Homer, as well as in later Greek, has over-colored our impression of what it means within the formula.

The *aristeia* of Diomedes is narrated in Book 5 of the *Iliad*. Diomedes is pictured at 5.84–94 rushing along the plain with such vigor that one cannot tell whether he is on the Trojan or Achaean side. He is likened in a simile to a winter-swollen river that flows so swiftly that it breaks

the γεφύρας, since the compacted γέφυραι can no longer hold back the river (5.87–89):

θῦνε γὰρ ἂμ πεδίον ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς
χειμάρρῳ, ὅς τ' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·
τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν...

Outside the simile the closely-packed phalanxes of the Trojans are described being driven into confusion by Diomedes, whom, despite their numbers, they are unable to withstand (5.93–94):

ὣς ὑπὸ Τυδεΐδῃ πυκιναὶ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες
Τρώων, οὐδ' ἄρα μιν μίμνον πολέες περ ἐόντες.

Here the γέφυραι of the simile clearly refer to the man-made dykes designed to prevent a swollen river from flooding. The simile has more than one point of contact with the context, for just as the rushing river represents the rushing Diomedes, so the compact but ineffective dykes represent the compact but ineffective Trojan phalanxes.

If we were to extend this meaning to the γέφυραι of the formula πτολέμοιο γεφύρας we would perhaps be inclined to translate it 'phalanxes of battle,' and it would represent the massed troops on both sides rather than the space between them.

The Verb γεφυρόω

In Book 15 of the *Iliad* Hector and his Trojan troops, with Apollo's assistance, breech the ditch and wall that have protected the Achaean ships. Apollo fills in the ditch by knocking down its banks, thereby creating a causeway over the ditch wide enough for the Trojan phalanxes to cross (15.356–60):

ῥεῖ' ὄχθας καπέτοιο βαθείης ποσσὶν ἐρείπων
ἐς μέσσον κατέβαλλε, γεφύρωσεν δὲ κέλευθον
μακρὴν ἠδ' εὐρεῖαν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ δουρὸς ἐρωὴ
γίγνεται, ὁππότ' ἀνὴρ σθένεος πειρώμενος ᾗσι.
τῇ ῥ' οἵ γε προχέοντο φαλαγγηδόν...

The expression γεφύρωσεν δὲ κέλευθον is a bit otiose, but it appears to mean not simply 'to bridge,' its meaning in later Greek, but 'to create a dyke or a causeway.' Again this would lend support to the interpretation of the γέφυραι of the formula as the compact phalanxes of the troops rather than the space between them.

At the height of his *aristeia* in Book 21 of the *Iliad* Achilles dares to fight even against the river Skamandros, which in turn tries to inundate the hero in its current. Achilles uproots a large elm tree from the bank, which carries along into the water the entire bank as it falls, thereby checking the current and blocking the flow of the river itself (21.242–45):

> – – / – – / – ⏑ ὃ δὲ πτελέην ἕλε χερσὶν
> εὐφυέα μεγάλην· ἣ δ' ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἐριποῦσα
> κρημνὸν ἅπαντα διῶσεν, ἐπέσχε δὲ καλὰ ῥέεθρα
> ὄζοισιν πυκινοῖσι, γεφύρωσεν δέ μιν αὐτὸν

Again, the verbal form γεφυρόω here means not simply 'to bridge' but 'to dam up.' And again this lends support to the interpretation of the γέφυραι of the formula as the compact phalanxes of the troops rather than the space between them.

Summary of Internal Evidence

In sum, in no instance in Homer does γέφυρα mean 'bridge,' or γεφυρόω 'to bridge'—its commonest meaning in later Greek both in poetry (as early as Aeschylus) and prose (as early as Herodotus). Outside the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας the noun appears to mean 'dyke' and the verb 'to create a dyke.' Within the formula the meaning is ambiguous. One would expect, based on its meaning outside the formula, that it means 'dykes of war,' and therefore refers to the phalanxes of hostile armies massed against each other like 'dykes.' But the contexts of the formula often suggest just the opposite: that it refers to the open space between these 'dykes.'

The poet, then, appears to be using an ancient formula metaphorically, as he often does, and also quite loosely, with but a general impression of what it may once have meant technically and literally. As I will soon argue, the poet, or more probably a bardic predecessor, has misunderstood the ancient formula, which in origin was built around a different word altogether that had a very precise meaning, a near homonym of γέφυρα ('dyke'), by false association with which the original formula was reshaped during the oral transmission of the epic tradition. But before offering this solution, let us review the various proposals of the ancient commentators and lexicographers of Homer as well as their modern counterparts.

Ancient Proposals

Given the vague and varied use of the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας in the *Iliad* it is no surprise that its meaning remained ambiguous to ancient Homeric commentators. What proposals they did offer were based largely on their perceptions of the meanings of the individual words themselves as used elsewhere in Homer and in later Greek generally, along with their perceptions of the contexts in which the formula occurred in the five *Iliadic* passages specifically. This resulted in a wide spectrum of proposals, ranging from the vague and metaphoric to the specific and literal, and it is not very reassuring that the two most common proposals convey precisely opposite meanings.

The most common meaning proposed for π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας in antiquity was the space that separated two opposing armies:

T scholia on *Il.* 8.553: τὸν μεταξὺ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τόπον.
D scholia on *Il.* 20.427: τὰ μεταξὺ τῶν πολεμούντων διαστήματα.
bT scholia on *Il.* 20.427: ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ τῶν στάσεων διαστήμασιν.
T scholia on *Il.* 4.371: τὰς διόδους τῶν φαλάγγων.
D scholia on *Il.* 4.371: τάς διεξόδους τοῦ πολέμου.
A scholia on *Il.* 8.553: τὰς διαβάσεις αὐτάς, αἷς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐχρῶντο.

But even this is not clear: terse as these definitions are, some could be understood somewhat differently to refer to the spaces separating the regiments of a single army rather than of two opposing armies.

The other common proposal in antiquity for the meaning of the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας entailed precisely the opposite view: that it referred not to the space between the phalanxes but to the phalanxes themselves, massive, compact, and imposing as they were, quite like a 'dyke.' A bT scholium on *Il.* 4.297–99 explains the formula as a reference to the phalanx of foot soldiers who 'meet the oncoming enemy like a wall' (ὡσεὶ τεῖχος δέχοιντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας). Porphyry and Eustathius quote the scholium in agreement, and Eustathius reminds us that Homer elsewhere calls the infantry gathered behind the cavalry a 'bulwark of battle' (ἕρκος πολέμοιο), equating the expression to the formula πολέμου γέφυραι, which he then compares to 'the gates of a wall' (πύλαι τείχους) and to a 'turret' (πύργος).[2] Finally, the *Etymologicum*

[2] *Porphyry* on *Il.* 4.297: ὃ καὶ γεφύρας πολέμου καλεῖ, καὶ πάλιν ἑνούμενοι ὡς τεῖχος δέχοιντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 4.297–300: ἵνα δηλονότι τοὺς

Magnum (sub γέφυρα) includes 'military ranks' (τάξεις) among several other meanings proposed for π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας.

The essence of a third, though somewhat less common, proposal offered by ancient commentators was that the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας was a periphrastic or metaphorical way of referring to warfare in general:

> A scholia on *Il.* 8.553: ἵν' ᾖ περίφρασις, πολέμοιο γεφύρῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ πολέμῳ.
> D scholia on *Il.* 4.371: Μεταφορὰ ὁ τρόπος.
> *Hesychius* sub πολέμ(ο)ιο γεφύρας· τὰς συμβο[υ]λὰς καὶ συζεύξεις.

There is of course no need to insist on a specific or technical feature of warfare or of the battlefield to explain a periphrastic and metaphoric π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας.

Antiquity offered a few more rather quirky proposals to explain π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας—that it referred to the passageways created by breaking through the phalanxes of the opposing army; that it designated a clear area in which there had been no battle; that it literally meant a 'bridge,' since it crossed over the wetness of the flowing blood[3]—but these were the three most common proposals, each definition notably excluding the others and thereby illustrating the overall lack of consensus.[4]

Modern Proposals

The proposals of modern commentators and lexicographers echo those of their ancient counterparts, sometimes remarkably so. The three definitions for π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας offered by the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, for example, are precisely those of the ancients:

ἱππεῖς ὑποχωροῦντας οἱ πεζοὶ δέχωνται οἷά τινες πύλαι τείχους, ἢ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἰπεῖν 'πολέμου γέφυραι' καὶ αὖθις οἱ αὐτοὶ πεζοὶ ἐκ διαστάσεως συναγόμενοι καὶ ἑνούμενοι ὡσεὶ πύργος καὶ οἷον ἕρκος πολέμου ὑπομένωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντα.

[3] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 8.553: Καὶ ἄλλως δέ, μέγα φρονοῦσι Τρῶες ἐπὶ γεφύραις, ἃς οἷον ῥυμοτομίας τινὰς καὶ ἀγυιὰς ἤνοιξαν ἑαυτοῖς, ῥήξαντες τὰς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φάλαγγας. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 8.553: ἤγουν τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ οὐ γέγονέ τι πολέμου κακόν. *Eustathius* on *Il.* 8.378: Λέγει δὲ γεφύρας πολέμου τὰς διὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος τῶν αἱμάτων διόδους. πᾶσα γὰρ γέφυρα ἐφ' ὑγροῦ διαβάσεως λέγεται.

[4] The solution of the *Et. Magn.* sub γέφυρα well illustrates the quandry, presenting as it does several opposite and mutually exclusive meanings: διόδους, τάξεις, ὑπεροχὰς, τὰ μέσα τῆς φάλαγγος.

- Raum zwischen den Heeren über den die Vorkämpfer angreifen (Grundbedeutung Brücke).
- Die erste Schlachtreihe wo der Kampf sich bricht (Grundbedeutung Deich).
- Umschreibung des Schlachtfeldes, formelhaft und wohl nicht mehr verstanden.

The ancient controversy is also mirrored in the contradictory definitions offered by the two most commonly used modern Homeric dictionaries: Autenrieth's 'the lanes between files and columns on the battle-field' and Cunliffe's 'ranks of men thought of as stemming the tide of war.' It is similarly mirrored in the contradictory meanings ascribed to the formula by two giants in the field of Homeric studies: Wilamowitz argues that the Homeric formula is a conventional phrase for battle or battlefield, but that its specific meaning can be construed as equivalent to later μεταίχμιον 'the space between the armies';[5] Fränkel understands the formula as a metaphor for the frontlines on both sides of the battlefield.[6] Modern commentators continue to offer suggestions for the meaning of π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας that are polar opposites of each other: 'the lines of open ground between the moving masses of men, who are perhaps likened to flowing water' (*Leaf, Iliad* on 4.371) and 'the ranks or squadrons thought of as stemming the tide of war' (*Monro, Iliad Commentary* on 4.371). Even within the same multiple-author commentary we find such variants as 'clear space between the ranks' (*Kirk, Commentary* on *Il.* 4.371) and 'military earthworks' (*Hainsworth, Iliad Commentary* on 11.160). And contradictory meanings of π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας are regularly offered within a single translation of the *Iliad*, depending on the translator's perception of the contexts of the individual passages: e.g., Lattimore's 'causeways of battle' at 11.160, and 'edgeworks of battle' at 20.427; Lombardo's 'lanes of battle' at 4.371 and 'bridges of war' at 8.553.

Finally we may observe that recent advances in etymology and comparative linguistics, outside the field of Homeric Studies *per se*, have also failed to shed a clear light on the origins of γέφυρα. There remains a major dispute over whether or not γέφυρα is even of Indo-European origin.[7] Those who favor an Indo-European origin of γέφυρα call to wit-

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1920) 30–31.

[6] H. Fränkel (1921) 26–27.

[7] The dispute can be readily witnessed in the contrasting views expressed by the respective articles under γέφυρα in the *LfgE* and the *DELG*.

ness the dialectal β/δ alternation (Aeolic βέφυρα/Doric δέφυρα), which points to an Indo-European voiced labiovelar (*g^w*e-bhur-ya*), but then Attic-Ionic γέφυρα remains anomolous.[8] Others have proposed non-Indo-European origins for γέφυρα (from the Aegean, Asia Minor, the Near East, and elsewhere), but, while this would largely render moot the phonological problems raised by the Indo-European model, none of the specific non-Indo-European cognates proposed is close enough to offer a convincing case.[9]

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[8] J. Loewenthal (1927) 182–183 suggests for γέφυρα a base meaning 'revetment made of large branches,' since this would fit the context, he thinks, in at least a couple of the Homeric passages (he neglects all the rest). He compares such revetments of intertwined branches used in the Ukraine as dykes for streams and protective hedges around a community. He posits PIE *g^w*e-bhur-ya*, and he also compares Greek γύψος and Armenian *ceph* ('plaster') among some other perceived cognates (all of which are very unattractive both semantically and phonetically). A. Meillet (1921) and (1935) 122 associates Greek γέφυρα with Armenian *kamurǰ* 'bridge,' though he admits that there is no concordance between Greek φ and Armenian *m*, and that an Indo-European restoration is problematic. Nonetheless he asserts that the dialect form δέφυρα points to PIE *g^w and explains Attic-Ionic γ- as a case of dissimilation. P. Kretschmer (1933b) 158, in reviewing H. Lamer's *IF* article (1930), which includes γέφυρα in a long list of words of pre-Greek 'Aegean' origin, suggests (Kretschmer does) that the dialect variations of γέφυρα cast some doubt on a non Indo-European proposal. P. Kretschmer (1934) 259, in reviewing H. Lamer's *Philologische Wochenschrift* article (1932), which claims that γέφυρα can only mean bridge, and not a dyke, and that it is of Cretan origin, warns that the dialect variations of γέφυρα suggest a labiovelar origin, thus landing the word within the Indo-European family rather than among the increasingly long list of purported Aegean or Semitic loan words.

[9] H. Krahe (1939) 181 notes that Greek words lacking Indo-European etymology tend to fall into categories: names of towns, hills, rivers, animals, plants, metals, household vessels, etc., among which are structures made of stone (e.g., γέφυρα, μέγαρον, πλίνθος). These words, according to Krahe, were borrowed from the 'Aegean' culture, i.e., the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece (i.e., they are of substratal origin). Krahe, however, can provide no tangible linguistic evidence for this (e.g., the characteristic suffixes in -ss- or -nth-). So this remains a vague and unsubstantial theory. H. Lamer (1930) 230–231 advocates an 'Aegean' origin of γέφυρα on the grounds that the Mycenaeans, influenced by the dominant Cretan culture, built the earliest bridges, as attested in the archaeological record. H. Lamer (1932) suggests a Semitic origin on the ground that Herodotus 5.55–58 speaks of the Gephyraioi as men of Phoenician descent, and that the art of bridge-building could have come over from the East, just as did the art of writing. But like Krahe he offers no explicit Semitic word whence it could have come. M. Räsänen (1947) compares Turkic *köpür* and Mongolian **gewür* 'bridge' to Greek γέφυρα, not just etymologically but also symbolically/mythologically, thus placing the word well outside the Indo-European family and rather into a category of 'international culture words.' J.T. Hooker (1979) poses an origin in the Semitic root *gb* 'raised up' (Akkadian, Hebrew, and Ugaritic 'hill'; Chaldaic 'ridge'; Syriac 'embankment'), emphasizing that the Homeric evidence points to the meaning 'embankment' rather than 'bridge' in its earliest stage in Greek. He suggests that it entered Greek poetry during the pre-Homeric period by way of Semitic poetry. But it seems highly unlikely that a Semitic poetic word for embankment would have entered the Greek language through

A Phonological Approach

Perhaps it is time to abandon the usual methods of exegesis and take a different tack altogether: namely, that the ancient formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας at some point in its long development and transmission suffered a junctural metanalysis of the kind being examined in this work. Searching for the etymology of the γέφυραι of the Homeric formula, whether among perceived Indo-European cognates, or among loan words from the pre-Greek Aegean, Asia Minor, or the Near East, is a vain enterprise, for in origin the form of the word was not γέφυραι but *ἔφυραι. Simply put, an early pre-Homeric formula *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι was misheard and metanalyzed during the bardic period as πτολέμοιο γέφυραι.

J. Puhvel first raised this possibility in 1976.[10] He was primarily concerned to explain the anomalous Attic-Ionic form γέφυρα 'bridge,' which appears in Doric as δέφυρα (Cretan Gortyn) and δίφουρα (Laconian according to Hesychius), and in Aeolic (Boeotian) as βέφυρα (Strattis Comicus, fr. 47.5). If of Indo-European origin this points to PIE **g^we-bhur-ya* (Proto-Greek *$γ^w$έφυρια), with initial voiced labiovelar, which regularly became δ before a front vowel in all dialects (ἀδελφός, ἀδήν). Aeolic β would be the result of labialization of the labiovelar, a common feature of the Aeolic dialects even before front vowels (Thessalian πέμπε for πέντε; Boeotian πέτταρες for τέσσερες). Attic-Ionic γ on the other hand would—assuming an Indo-European origin—remain inexplicable.

Puhvel proposes a Homeric solution to the problem: that an early epic formula *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι was misapprised as πτολέμοιο γέφυραι. The original formula would have had a very precise meaning: the Achaean siegeworks around the citadel of Troy. For π(τ)όλεμος, with its problematic initial variation, must be related to π(τ)όλις, and therefore does not simply mean a 'fight' (μάχη), but rather a long drawn-out affair such as the ten-year siege of Troy. And *ἔφυραι would be

Greek epic poetry and then become the universal Greek word for bridge. R.S.P. Beekes (2002), taking his cue from E.J. Furnée (1972) 223, suggests that Armenian *kamurǰ* '(wooden) bridge,' itself a foreign loan word (presumably), and Hattic *hamuru*(*wa*) 'beam' might be connected to γέφυρα, but, again, both the supposed semantic and phonetic concordances are problematic.

[10] My summary of his proposal is drawn primarily from his article in *IF*—J. Puhvel (1976)—but also includes some slight modifications and updates from his Hittite Etymological Dictionary—J. Puhvel (1984) sub *epurai-*.

related to the proper noun Ἐφύρη, an old name of several cities, notably Corinth, but also ones in Elis and Thesprotia. The main semantic thrust of *ἔφυραι would be 'securement, fortification, encirclement, siege.' Puhvel finds support for this assumption in the Hittite text 807/w from the 1964 excavations at Boghazköi (= *KBo* XVIII 54 Rs. 13–17, 18–19, 25), where an etymological match appears in the infinitive *epurawanzi* 'to besiege' a fortress (two times), the iterative 1st pl. pres. act *epuresgawen* 'we besieged,' and the verbal noun *epuressar* 'siege.' These point to a denominative verb form **epurai-* 'to besiege,' from a noun form **epura-* 'siege.' Most significant for the issue at hand is that the only other attestation of the word in the entire Hittite corpus appears in a context where it means to 'dam up' (3rd sg. pres. act. *epuraizzi*) the courses of a river (KUB XXXVI 89 Rs. 41). Hence the semantic range of the Hittite verb explains both the original formula *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι as 'siegeworks,' and also the use of the verbal form γεφυρόω in the *Iliad* to mean 'to dam up.' According to Puhvel, then, the misapprisal of the epic formula was the source of the new form γέφυρα, as well as the denominative verb form γεφυρόω.

I agree with Puhvel that a 'misapprisal,' as he calls it, of the formula has taken place here; as we have seen, such 'metanalysis,' as I call it, is a normal development in the evolution of Homeric diction. But the entirety of his solution, though intriguing, seems scarcely possible to me. While the metanalysis *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι > πτολέμοιο γέφυραι is phonetically attractive, it does not seem semantically plausible unless γέφυρα already existed in the Greek vernacular. Even if the true meaning of an ancient *ἔφυραι was no longer clearly understood by a bard, why would he reconstitute it as a non-existent γέφυρα, especially since it was the inherited form δέφυρα (with Aeolic variation βέφυρα) that he was allegedly aiming for? And is it conceivable that the nominal and verbal uses of γέφυρα/γεφυρόω in Homer outside the formula, not to speak of all its various forms and compounds in later Greek, were all spawned from a misapprisal of a single epic formula?

No, γέφυρα, whatever its origin—inherited Indo-European or substratal/adstratal loan—must have already existed in the vernacular long before Homer, thus providing a semantic as well as phonetic motivation for a bard to metanalyze the no longer understood *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι as the at least metaphorically meaningful πτολέμοιο γέφυραι.

Let us assume that γέφυρα existed in the Ionic dialect long before Homer's composition of the *Iliad*. This seems a sound assumption since the word occurs in both a noun form (γέφυρα) and a denominative

verb form (γεφυρόω) in the *Iliad* quite apart from, and independent of, the formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γεφύρας. Presumably Ionic γέφυρα, and its biforms δέφυρα and βέφυρα in Doric and Aeolic, meant 'dyke/dam' in its noun form, 'to dam up' in its verb form.

There existed, independent of γέφυρα/γεφυρόω, an ancient epic formula *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι, which had a fairly precise and technical meaning: i.e., the siegeworks (earthen mounds and such) that were constructed by an army in its effort to enclose a city. The technical meaning of this formula, slowly dimmed by the ages of bardic transmission of the epic tradition, eventually became unclear, and well before the time of Homer the bards and their audiences had only a vague sense of what it meant (cf. νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ, etc.). Hence it became semantically as well as phonetically tempting to resuscitate the almost moribund formula via metanalysis, thereby creating something more familiar: π(τ)ολέμοιο γέφυραι.

The semantic range of *ἔφυρα and its cognates overlapped that of γέφυρα and its cognates—i.e., 'to dam up'—whence the temptation to breathe new life into the moribund formula by interjecting the familiar near-homonym from the Ionic vernacular. The rest of the semantic range of *ἔφυρα and its cognates—'to besiege'—was largely forgotten. So the metanalyzed formula π(τ)ολέμοιο γέφυραι, while meaning literally 'dykes of war,' and connoting first the 'dyke-like' compact formations of warriors marshaled against each other, and then later taking on the meaning of 'causeways' or 'empty spaces' between these formations, began finally to take on an increasingly vague and metaphoric meaning, and to be used generally and periphrastically of the battlefield or simply of battle itself. This is more or less the contextual situation we find in the five incidences of the formula in Homer's *Iliad*.

Phonetically too the metanalysis is an attractive one: *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι and πτολέμοιο γέφυραι would be audibly almost indistinguishable. We have seen elsewhere that elidible particles such as γε and τε can create a phonetic environment that is prone to metanalysis: Γάβιοι > γ' Ἄβιοι; θ' εἰλόπεδον > θειλόπεδον; τ' ἐλάχεια > τε λάχεια; τ' ἀνηλεγής > τανηλεγής. Therefore from both a phonetic and semantic point of view the metanalysis of *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι as πτολέμοιο γέφυραι seems well within the realm of possibility.

Syntactically too the metanalysis is attractive. It is notable how often in Homer the particle γε occurs in a syntactic environment identical to that of the formula; i.e., between a genitive and the noun that it qualifies: *Il.* 18.193 Αἴαντός γε σάκος; 21.105 Πριάμοιό γε παίδων; *Od.* 11.118

κείνων γε βίας; 17.312 ἀνδρός γε κύων; 17.475 πτωχῶν γε θεοί (cf. *Il.* 8.513; 10.457; 14.483; 21.611; *Od.* 4.62, 79; 8.414; 9.393; 10.505; 14.291; 19.86; 21.205; 22.219, 329). Yet, the particle is syntactically utterly dispensable. Hence the existence of an early formula *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι that served as a model for the later πτολέμοιο γέφυραι is syntactically, as well as semantically and phonetically, quite plausible.

Finally, if, as I propose, a metanalysis occurred, and *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι was the earlier form of the formula, we must ask what it meant originally. I support an association with the common city name Ἐφύρη (with onomastic retraction). Homer mentions an Ἐφύρη seven times (*Il.* 2.659; 6.152, 210; 13.301; 15.531; *Od.* 1.259; 2.328) and seems to have in mind at least two different Ἔφυραι and perhaps as many as four (cf. Hippias Soph. fr. 12; Strabo 8.3.5–6): Corinth, Kikhyros in Thesprotia, possibly Kranon in Thessaly, and possibly Oinoe in Elis. The Ἔφυραι in Homer are strong-walled citadels inhabited by heroic warriors: the Ἐφύρη of ancient Corinth must have been an imposing sight, with the massive heights of the Acrocorinth as a backdrop, and it was inhabited by warriors of mythic proportion: Aiolis, Sisyphos, Glaukos, and Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.145–211; cf. Simonides fr. 10); Heracles sacks many cities of strong warriors before he can snatch the appropriately named Astyocheia from Thesprotian (or Elean?) Ἐφύρη (*Il.* 2.659–60), which is also the source of lethal poisons in which to dip one's arrows (*Od.* 1.259; 2.328). The main semantic thrust of Ἐφύρη, hence *ἔφυραι, would likely have been something suitable for a strong city: e.g., 'fortifications.'

The support for this interpretation found in the Hittite texts—verbal *epurai* = 'to besiege, to dam up'—also seems strong, and it adds a further dimension to the meaning of our hypothetical Homeric *ἔφυραι: 'siegeworks' as well as 'dykes.' The possible association of π(τ)όλεμος with π(τ)όλις adds further color to the formula and results in a meaning that includes the fortifications and siegeworks (earthworks?) that are built up by an invading army to enclose a walled city or citadel. In the case of the *Iliad* it is the counterpart, as it were, to the earthworks built up by the Achaeans in Book 7 of the *Iliad* to protect their own ships. It appears, then, that the ancient formula preserves the memory of a common strategy in ancient warfare that would have been perfectly suitable in a description of the Achaean's ten-year siege of Troy.

In sum, I propose that a metanalysis occurred here, but it did not result in a neologism, or even in a new form of an old word, but simply in a modification of what was becoming an obsolete formula. This

modification was tempting phonetically (the sound of *γ' ἔφυρα was indistinguishable from γέφυρα), syntactically (the particle γε commonly separated a genitive from the noun it qualified in epic verse, yet it was easily dispensed with), and semantically (the semantic range of the obsolete lexeme *ἔφυρα overlapped with the vernacular γέφυρα). Like many ancient Homeric formulas, *πτολέμοιό γ' ἔφυραι evolved from a very specific and technical phrase meaning 'the earthworks built up around a city under siege' to a loose and metaphoric phrase connoting 'battle' generally.[11]

[11] This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Indogermanische Forschungen* (see S. Reece [2006]).

CHAPTER NINETEEN

HOMER’S WINGED AND WINGLESS WORDS
ΠΤΕΡΌΕΙΣ / ἌΠΤΕΡΟΣ

Formularity of ἔπεα πτερόεντα

One of the most common formulaic phrases in Homer’s ‘epics’—his ἔπεα—includes the word for ‘words’ themselves, which are described as ‘winged’:

– ◡ ◡ / – ◡ ◡ / – ἔπεα πτερόεντ(α) ◡ / – ×

This noun-epithet combination ἔπεα πτερόεντα, embedded within a whole verse formula, occurs one-hundred twenty-four times in Homer, distributed evenly over the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with respect both to the number of occurrences (61x and 63x) and to the variety of the verse’s avatars.[1] The whole verse formula must have evolved over a considerable span of time, with the fossilized expression ἔπεα πτερόεντα, positioned after the penthemimeral caesura in all its one-hundred twenty-four occurrences, functioning as the kernel, around which was built a complex and useful system of variations.

The most common verse formulation can be abstracted thus:

καί μιν	φωνήσας	ἔπεα	πτερόεντα	προσηύδα (59x in Homer)
(σφεας)	(φωνήσασ’)			(προσηύδων)
			(πτερόεντ’	ἀγόρευε[ν])
				(ἀγόρευον)

[1] The numbers here and following are based on T.W. Allen’s edition of the *Iliad*, P. von der Mühll’s of the *Odyssey*. M.L. West’s more recent edition of the *Iliad* and H. van Thiel’s of the *Odyssey* yield roughly the same figures. The numbers vary slightly, depending on how the sometimes conflicting testimony of the manuscripts is interpreted. Like many formulaic phrases, this one occasionally suffers omission, or at least substitution of its parts, while, on the other hand, as a sort of counter-force, it is also prone to interpolation. Owing to the ubiquity of the formula, however, none of the general observations that I make about its use and meaning is compromised by these occasional manuscript variants.

But if the poet wished to give more nuance to the upcoming speech he might substitute:

καί ῥ'	ὀλοφυρόμεν-ος	ἔπεα	πτερόεντα	προσηύδα	(12x in Homer)
(καί μ')	(-οι)			(προσηύδων)	
	(-η)				

If he wished to describe more vividly the circumstances of the speech he might substitute:

ἀγχοῦ δ'	ἱστάμεν-ος	ἔπεα	πτερόεντα	προσηύδα	(14x in Homer)
	(-αι)			(προσηύδων)	
	(-η)		(πτερόεντ'	ἀγόρευε)	
	(παρισταμένη)				

And if he wished to include the name of the addressee he might substitute:

αὐτίκ'	Ἀθηναίην	ἔπεα	πτερόεντα	προσηύδα	(5x in Homer)
(αἶψα δ')					
αἶψα δὲ Τηλέμαχον					(4x in Homer)
etc.					

About twenty-five variations of the formula occur in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, making this one of the most complex and flexible formulaic systems in Homer.[2] Useful as this system was to oral composition in performance, it must have evolved over several generations of bards well before the time of Homer. We find some confirmation of this in the relative regard or lack of regard for the force of digamma in the word (ϝ)έπεα. In thirty-two occurrences of the formula the digamma is metrically necessary (e.g., καί μιν ἀμειβόμενος (ϝ)έπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα), while in twelve occurrences it is metrically prohibited (e.g., καί μιν δάκρυ χέουσ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα). This confirms that the formulaic system began evolving some generations before Homer, when the force of the digamma was strong, and continued to develop right up to Homer's own time, when its force was weak or even negligible.

[2] For somewhat different schematizations of this formulaic system, see *MHV* 380–381, 414–418; J.M. Foley (1990) 129–137; F. Létoublon (1999) 327–331.

Meaning of ἔπεα πτερόεντα

So much, then, for the formulaic system in which the noun-epithet combination ἔπεα πτερόεντα is found embedded. Keeping in mind the ubiquity, antiquity, and fossilization of the phrase, we now proceed to ask what it means. Has πτερόεντα become through repeated use over a long span of time simply a traditional 'ornamental' epithet (to use Milman Parry's term) with little or no semantic force? If the epithet does retain some of its semantic force for Homer and his audience, is it being used literally or metaphorically? If metaphorically, to what are the ἔπεα being compared?

Parry argued deliberately and carefully that the whole line formula had indeed lost its semantic force and retained only a formal function: it meant simply that a direct speech by one of the characters within the epic was to follow. It was used because it was a convenience of verse-composition, not because it had any particular meaning beyond 'and he said.'[3] This may all be true from a strictly formal point of view, and we shall revisit this argument below to consider the impact of such a formalistic approach on the formula and its derivatives; but it does not, I think, rob the epithet of all vestiges of its semantic force, as though any other epithet of the same metrical shape would convey precisely the same meaning, or, in the absence of meaning, produce precisely the same effect.

The epithet's original semantic force may be elicited from its clear etymological association with the root πτερ- ('wing' or 'feather'), whence the noun πτερόν ('wing' or 'feather') and the verb πέτομαι, πέτεσθαι ('fly').[4] So much seems indisputable. Equally indisputable is that the epithet is being used metaphorically rather than literally: the ancient Greeks conceived of words as more concrete than we moderns do, with our greater tendency toward abstraction, but not many would have gone so far as to entertain the notion of a word literally sprouting wings![5]

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[3] Parry expressed his views on the formula in a series of three short articles between 1933–1937: reprinted in *MHV* 372–373, 380–381, and especially 414–418. His conclusion: "This verse in its various forms brings in a speech when the character who is to speak has been the subject of the last verses, so that the use of his name in the line would be clumsy."

[4] So *DELG* sub πτερόν.

[5] *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.201 pokes fun at certain of the ancients who, lacking a true understanding of Homer's art, thought that his words had actually grown wings. The

The epithet is clearly metaphoric, but here consensus vanishes, for some prefer the metaphor of a 'winged' bird escaping through the 'barrier of the teeth' of the speaker, like a bird escaping from a cage, and flying swiftly to the receptive ears of the hearer—rather like the scene of the Mycenaean fresco in the throne room of the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos, which appears to depict a bird flying away from the mouth of a performing lyre player (see Illustration V).[6] Others prefer the metaphor of a 'feathered' arrow, held stable and true by the fletching at its base, which enables it to fly speedily and accurately to its target.[7]

The former has in its favor the close etymological connection of πτερόεις with πτερόν and πτέρυξ (and their cognates), which more often mean 'wing' than 'feather,' and are used regularly in Homer in association with birds. And although the epithet πτερόεις never itself describes a bird in our surviving corpus of epic texts, it does quite regularly in other early Greek poetry: e.g., of an eagle in Pindar's *Pythian* 2.50; of birds generally in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* 1000 and Euripides' *Hippolytus* 733. The epithet πτερόεις also clearly means 'winged' rather than 'feathered' in describing Pegasus and other winged horses, the dragon of Thebes and the Sphinx, and the sandals of Perseus and the Sirens.[8] This interpretation also has in its favor the frequent

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only modern counterpart of Eustathius' objects of ridicule, so far as I can tell, is P. Vivante (1975), who comes very close to this view: i.e., that the formula is not really a metaphor at all, since words are conceived as concrete objects with their own reality, and they could actually be winged.

[6] So M. Philippides (1985), who suggests that the lyre player is a Mycenaean bard, and that the bird represents his ἔπεα πτερόεντα, since it is flying away from the singer. If the figure were Orpheus enchanting a bird with his music, as many think, the bird would not be flying away; and if this were a religious scene of some theriomorphic divinity, as others have proposed, there would likely be more religious symbols in it—on the contrary the scene appears completely secular.

[7] Ancient Homeric scholars proposed a different metaphor that has not been picked up by their modern counterparts: that well-spoken words were like the feathers of a wing inasmuch as they fit well together, were finely arranged, harmonious, and suitable for the occasion: e.g., *Hesychius* sub ἔπεα πτερόεντα (ἁρμοστά); *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.201 (διὰ τὴν ἁρμονίαν καὶ εὐσυνθεσίαν).

[8] Pegasus in Pindar's *Olympian* 13.86 and *Isthmian* 7.44; winged horses in Euripides' *Electra* 466 and *Ion* 202; the dragon of Thebes in Euripides' *Phoenician Women* 1019, 1042; the Sphinx in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* 508; Perseus' winged sandals in Hesiod's *Scutum* 220; the sandals of the Sirens in Euripides' fr. 911.2. The epithet is also used of Ixion's wheel in Pindar's *Pythian* 2.22; Io's tormenting gadfly in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* 557; the chorus' foot in Euripides' fr. 781.62; Zeus' lightning in Aristophanes' *Birds* 576; and of Chaos, with whom equally winged Eros mates, in Aristophanes' *Birds* 698. Finally, the epithet is used metaphorically, as in Homer, of Pindar's own hymn in *Isthmian* 5.63, and of flight in Euripides' *Ion* 1238.

association in Homer and other Greek poetry of human utterance (speaking, singing, weeping, shouting) with the sound of birds.[9] Ancient Homeric scholars usually simply gloss the epithet as 'swift' (ταχύς), but when they grapple with the metaphoric value of the epithet, they frequently portray an image of a bird (while they do not mention arrows at all).[10] This interpretation has been embraced by a slight majority of modern lexicographers and commentators and by an even larger majority of translators.[11]

The latter has in its favor the fact that the epithet is actually used four times in Homer as a modifier of arrows: *Il.* 4.117 ἰὸν…πτερόεντα; 5.171 πτερόεντες ὀϊστοί; 16.773 ἰοί τε πτερόεντες; and 20.68 ἰὰ πτερόεντα (likewise in Pindar's *Olympian* 9.11–12, Eudoxus Astron. fr. 103.3, etc.). Further, like an arrow, a word is often said in Homer to 'miss' or 'not miss' its mark: ἁμαρτάνω (of arrows—*Il.* 8.302, 311; 23.857; of words—*Il.* 13.824); οὐχ ἁμαρτάνω (of arrows—*Od.* 21.421, 425; of words—*Il.* 3.215; *Od.* 11.511). A certain level of metaphoric vigor is perhaps retained even in the trite expression νημερτής (from νη- 'not' and ἁμαρτάνω 'err'), used to describe a word (ἔπος *Il.* 3.204, etc.), speech (μῦθος *Il.* 6.376, etc.), or counsel (βουλή *Od.* 1.86, etc.). In later Greek literature too a human utterance is often likened to an arrow: Pindar's *Olympian* 9.1–21; Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* 446, *Eumenides* 676; Euripides' *Suppliants* 456. Although ancient Homeric scholars do not mention this interpretation, a large minority of modern scholars has come to favor it.[12]

Yet, in the larger scheme of things this difference is relatively minor; the metaphors, after all, overlap, a feather being a component of a wing, and both portraying words that fly from the lips of the speaker to the ears of the hearer.

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9 E.g., *Il.* 3.2–7; *Od.* 16.216; Euripides' *Heracles* 110–112.

10 *Hesychius* sub ἔπεα πτερόεντα; *Eustathius* on *Il.* 1.201; *Et. Magn.* sub πτερόεντα.

11 So *Autenrieth* sub πτερόεις; *Cunliffe* sub πτερόεις; *LSJ* sub πτερόεις; *Ameis, Odyssey Commentary* on 2.269 and 17.57; W.B. Stanford (1936) 136–138; *Stanford, Commentary* on *Od.* 1.122; E. Fränkel (1950) v. 2, 152, n. 1; R.B. Onians (1951) 67, 469–470; R. D'Avino (1980–1981); *Kirk, Commentary* on *Il.* 1.122; *Hoekstra, Commentary* on *Od.* 13.165; R.P. Martin (1989) 26–37; R. Drew Griffith (1995); *LfgE* sub πτερόεις.

12 W. Wackernagel (1860) 178–181, 244–245; *Leaf, Iliad* on 5.453; M.L. Jacks (1922); J.A.K. Thomson (1936); M. Durante (1958) 244–250; M. van der Valk (1966) 59–64; *DELG* sub πτερόν; J. Latacz (1968) 27–32; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (1973); *S. West, Commentary* on *Od.* 1.122; F. Létoublon (1999); *LfgE* sub ἄπτερος; S. Pulleyn (2000) 180–181.

Formularity of ἄπτερος… μῦθος

The real challenge arises when we confront the formula ἄπτερος… μῦθος, which upon first glance would reasonably appear to mean the opposite of ἔπεα πτερόεντα, i.e., a 'wingless' or 'featherless' word (with alpha-privative). The formula occurs four times in Homer, all in the latter portion of the *Odyssey*. In each instance a male character (Telemachus or Eumaeus) has just given a set of instructions to a female character (Penelope or Eurycleia), who does not answer but immediately carries out the instructions: Telemachus instructs Penelope to bathe and clothe herself, and then go to the upper room with the servant women and pray to the gods (17.46–56); Telemachus instructs Eurycleia to shut the servant women out while he and the newly arrived stranger remove the arms from the hall (19.16–28); Eumaeus instructs Eurycleia to lock the doors of the hall and keep the women out (21.381–85); Telemachus instructs Eurycleia to come back into the hall and hear the words of his father (22.395–97). Thereupon follows in each case the whole verse formula, divided into hemistichs at the penthemimeral caesura (17.57, 19.29, 21.386,[13] 22.398):

> ὣς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος

Then the woman, without giving any verbal response, immediately obeys the instructions.

Meaning of ἄπτερος… μῦθος

Etymologically the epithet ἄπτερος, assuming it contains an alpha-privative prefix, should mean the opposite of πτερόεις, and this is the way interpreters and translators have often rendered the phrase: i.e., the word was for her 'without a wing.' Contextually, however, the epithet

[13] Several late manuscripts (Allen's family q) omit this verse, leaving an impossibly abrupt sequence of action. Some other late manuscripts (Allen's families a, h, j, along with the individual manuscripts Br, P3, P4, and U5 [in the margin]) have the verse ὣς ἔφαθ'· ἡ δὲ μάλ' ὀτραλέως τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε. This has little bearing on the following treatment of the epithet ἄπτερος, except to suggest that some scribes and scholars during the textual transmission of the epic appear to have regarded adverbial ὀτραλέως and ἀπτερέως as near synonyms, and so would have understood adjectival ἄπτερος to mean 'swift' or 'quick.' This is no surprise, since ταχύς is a meaning commonly proposed for ἄπτερος among ancient Homeric lexicographers and commentators (i.e., the fourth interpretation below).

ἄπτερος seems to mean the same thing as πτερόεις: in each of the four passages the words have flown quickly from speaker to hearer, who appears to understand them perfectly and then proceeds to obey them. Simply put, as exegetes we are in the embarrassing position of having two etymologically *opposite* epithets—ἄπτερος and πτερόεις—appear to mean contextually *the same thing*.

There have, of course, been many attempts throughout the centuries of Homeric scholarship to solve this dilemma. Some have suggested that the speeches of Telemachus and Eumaeus in these four passages have failed in some way to reach the ears of Penelope and Eurycleia, or that the women do not comprehend their full meaning or intent, and it is in this respect that they are 'wingless,' or rather 'featherless' (since those who make this suggestion tend to favor the metaphor of the arrow, which 'lacking feathers' fails to fly straight to its target).[14]

At first glance, this may appear to be an attractive proposal, but it does not stand the test of suitability in all four contexts in which the epithet occurs. In the first two passages it is conceivable that Penelope and Eurycleia, while hearing the words, do not comprehend their full significance: i.e., that Odysseus is home and that the arms are being removed in preparation for the slaughter of the suitors. But in the latter two passages Eurycleia knows perfectly well what is going on, she hears the words clearly, understands their meaning and intent, and obeys immediately.

Further, it is perhaps worth considering here the unfortunate results of such an interpretation on some post-Homeric poetic usages of ἄπτερος, even though we cannot be certain that these later poets used the word in the same sense as Homer, it being altogether possible that they, as we, did not fully understand Homer's meaning. The most ancient non-Homeric usage of the word, in this case in an adverbial form, is in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*. Here Tyndareus has made the suitors of Helen swear a solemn oath that they will not take her by force, and that they will make anyone who tries pay the penalty. Since the suitors expect to succeed in their suit, they obey him ἀπτερέως (fr. 204.84):

> τοὶ δ' ἀπτερέως ἐπίθοντο

[14] So M.L. Jacks (1922), J.A.K. Thomson (1936), C. Whitman (1958) 7; cf. objections by E.C. Yorke (1936), R.B. Onians (1951) 469–470, and *DELG* sub πτερόν.

Surely we are not to understand here that the suitors obey ‘without understanding’ the oath they are swearing. The context rather seems to require something like ‘quickly, speedily, readily,’ a definition that would also fit the context of the two other ancient passages in which this adverbial form occurs: Parmenides fr. 1.17; Apollonius’ *Argonautica* 4.1765.[15]

Likewise, when Archilochus uses a verbal form ἀπτερύσσετο in describing the action of a bird upon a rocky headland, we should probably not imagine that he means that the bird was flying askew. Rather, he seems to mean that it flapped its wings rapidly (fr. 41):

> κηρύλος πέτρης ἐπὶ προβλῆτος ἀπτερύσσετο

Aeschylus’ fr. 186.17 does not provide enough context to determine the meaning of the epithet:

> βήμ]α̣τ̣᾿ ἀ̣πτέρου̣ δάκ̣ο̣υ̣ς· [

But in fr. 619a.4, which seems to relate the Pleiades etymologically to πέλειαι ‘doves,’ the epithet clearly means ‘winged,’ hence ‘flying swiftly,’ certainly not ‘flying askew’:

> ἄπτεροι Πελειάδες

On the other hand, this interpretation would fit the context of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, where Clytemnestra has just announced to the chorus the unexpected news of the Achaean’s successful capture of Troy. The chorus is not inclined to believe her and asks if some dream has duped her or some ἄπτερος φάτις fed her hopes (276):

> ἀλλ᾿ ἦ σ᾿ ἐπίανέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις;

Given the disposition of the chorus, the translation ‘a rumor that has flown askew’ would fit the context well. But so would many other interpretations (see below): ‘swift,’ ‘pleasing,’ or even ‘silent’ and ‘wingless,’ since, even though the chorus does not apparently know this, the message has not been conveyed by normal speech but through a series of fire beacons. The scholia on this passage gloss the epithet: ἰσόπτερος, κούφη; also ἡ ἄνευ πτερῶν ταχεῖα φήμη.

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[15] The adverb is defined as ‘swiftly’ both by *Herodian* Περὶ Παθῶν 230 (αἰφνιδίως) in reference to Hesiod, and by the scholia on the passage in the *Argonautica* (ταχέως).

In Aeschylus' *Eumenides* the chorus of Furies describes its pursuit of Orestes over the sea ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν (250):

ὑπέρ τε πόντον ἀπτέροις ποτήμασιν

One might be inclined here, as elsewhere, to resort to the interpretation of an intensive use of the epithet: 'winged,' and therefore 'quick.' After all, even given the scholia's gloss of this epithet as ὅτι μὴ πτερωτὰς εἰσήγαγεν αὐτάς, how can the flight of the Furies be 'wingless?'

Perhaps the description of the Furies earlier in the tragedy holds the answer. They are described as like the Harpies that stole the feast of Phineus (51):

ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν

The two particles γε μὴν usually express an adversative relationship, so perhaps this description of the Furies is best translated 'however, wingless to look at' in contrast to the winged Harpies.[16] Alternatively, the epithet in both passages could mean 'featherless,' suggesting that the Furies had bat-like wings that did not have feathers.[17] In either case, here in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* we have the clearest example so far in Greek of the alpha of the epithet being construed as a negative: so 'wingless' or 'featherless.'

This understanding of the epithet becomes increasingly common from this point on: in Euripides' description of a fledgling (*Heracles* 1039), and in his description of the winglessness of the chorus in contrast to the Halcyon (*Iphigenia in Taurus* 1095); in Herodotus' description of the unusual arrows of the Lycians (7.92.3); and most of all in the various usages in the prose of Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Lycurgus (e.g., ἄνθρωπος ζῷον ἄπτερον).[18]

In sum, for what it is worth, the post-Homeric usage of the epithet ἄπτερος does not support the interpretation, already unlikely on Homeric grounds, that it describes a word that has failed in some way to reach the ears of the hearer, or that the hearer does not comprehend the word's full meaning or intention. We will have to look further.

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[16] So *Denniston* 348.

[17] So P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (1973).

[18] There remains the perplexing phrase ἀπτέρῳ τάχει, which first appears in *Tragica Adespota* fr. 429, but becomes very common in late Greek. Here 'winged speed' would seem more suitable than 'wingless speed.'

Others have made an equally ingenious suggestion that would still allow ἄπτερος to be maintained as the opposite of πτερόεις: namely, that the μῦθοι in these passages belong not to the speakers of the preceding verses (Telemachus or Eumaeus) but to the hearers (Penelope or Eurycleia). The μῦθοι are ἄπτεροι because the women remain silent, their words, or intended words—rather their thoughts—remain unuttered, and they quietly do as they are told. This formula would thus count among the many 'silence formulas' found in Homer, comparable, for example, to πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ or θαλερὴ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή. This interpretation has perhaps become the most commonly accepted one among modern commentators.[19]

This is such a simple and tidy solution to the problem that it is surprising to discover that it is utterly unknown to the ancient commentators of Homer, who always in such circumstances understand the μῦθος as that of the speaker. But this is for good reason: Homer's usual syntactical and dictional habits in analogous expressions that demarcate the end of a direct speech and then remark on a μῦθος always designate that μῦθος as belonging to the previous speaker, never to the addressee (26x in Homer):

ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀλκίνοος (Ἀμφίνομος, Ἀντίνοος), τοῖσιν δ' ἐπιήνδανε μῦθος (*Od.* 13.16; 16.406; 18.50, 290; 20.247; 21.143, 269)
ὣς φάτο Πουλυδάμας, ἅδε δ' Ἕκτορι μῦθος ἀπήμων (*Il.* 12.80; 13.748)
ὣς φάτο Σαρπηδών, δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἕκτορι μῦθος (*Il.* 5.493)
ὣς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ἑαδότα μῦθον ἔειπεν (*Il.* 9.173; *Od.* 18.422)
ὣς εἰπὼν προΐει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε (*Il.* 1.326)
ὣς ἔφατ', ἔδεισεν δ' ὃ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ (*Il.* 1.33; 24.571)
ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἀνστάντες ἔβαν πείθοντό τε μύθῳ (*Od.* 17.177)
ὣς ἔφαθ', Ἕκτωρ δ' αὖτ' ἐχάρη μέγα μῦθον ἀκούσας (*Il.* 3.76; 7.54)
ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας (*Il.* 17.694)
ὣς φάτο, βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε (*Il.* 2.16)
ὣς φάτο, βῆ δὲ συφορβός, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσεν (*Od.* 17.348, 551, 574)
ὣς ἄρ' ἔφαν μνηστῆρες, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων (*Od.* 17.488; 20.384)
ὣς ἔφατ' Ἀντίνοος· ὁ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων (*Od.* 20.275)

[19] *Ameis, Odyssey Commentary* on 2.269 and 17.57; *Monro, Odyssey Commentary* on 17.57; *Bérard, Odyssey* on 17.57; *Cunliffe* sub ἄπτερος; W.B. Stanford (1936) 136–138; *LSJ* sub ἄπτερος; F. Combellack (1950–1951) 26, n. 7; E. Fränkel (1950) v. 2, 152, n. 1; R.B. Onians (1951) 67, 469–470; *Stanford, Commentary* on *Od.* 1.122 and 17.57; M. Durante (1958) 248, n. 8; M. van der Valk (1966) 59–64; J. Latacz (1968) 27–38; *DELG* sub πτερόν; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (1973); *LfgE* sub ἄπτερος; R. D'Avino (1980–81) 95, 113–117; *Hoekstra, Commentary* on *Od.* 13.165; *Fernandez-Galiano, Commentary* on *Od.* 21.386; R.B. Rutherford (1992) 137; F. Létoublon (1999) 332–333.

Other epic traditions, as well as Homer's ancient imitators, knew this well, as illustrated in their use of similar constructions:

> ὣς ἔφατ'· Οἰνείδης δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας (Hesiod fr. 280.24; Minyas fr. 7.24)
> ὣς ἔφατ'· Ἀλκινόῳ δὲ περὶ φρένας ἤλυθε μῦθος (Orphic *Argonautica* 1329)
> ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, πάντεσσι δ' ἐναίσιμος ἥνδανε μῦθος (Apollonius' *Argonautica* 1.717)

On the rare occasion that at the end of a speech a μῦθος is said to be taken up by the addressee, the Homeric practice is to denote the change of speakers clearly with a new subject in the nominative case along with a new finite verb, usually a form of ἀμείβομαι:

> ὣς φάτο, κώκυσεν δὲ γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ (*Il.* 24.200)
> ὣς φάτο, γήθησεν δ' ὃ γέρων καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ (*Il.* 24.424)
> ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δέ μ' οἰμώξας ἠμείβετο μύθῳ (*Od.* 9.506; 11.59)
> ὣς φάτο, Λαέρτης δ' ἐχάρη καὶ μῦθον ἔειπε (*Od.* 24.513)

Even in the so-called 'silence formulas,' if a μῦθος is mentioned at all it is always that of the speaker, not of the addressee:[20]

> ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
> μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν (*Il.* 8.28–29, etc.)

In short, a comparison of usual Homeric practice in such circumstances seriously undermines the view that the μῦθος in the formula ὣς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος belongs to the hearer rather than the speaker.[21]

Some have tried to draw support for this view from some of the post-Homeric poetic usages of ἄπτερος and its cognates (see above in the first interpretation). The suitors of Helen in the Hesiodic passage, indeed, could be thought to have obeyed 'without replying.'[22] And the rumor of Troy's capture in the Aeschylean passage could be construed by the chorus as 'silent,' since they suspect that it was not conveyed by human voice but by some divine inspiration.[23] But this interpretation would be ludicrous in all other post-Homeric usages of the term.

[20] J. Latacz (1968) 32–34, who argues most forcefully to include τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος among the 'silence formula,' fails to include this critical detail.

[21] This view is also criticized by: M.L. Jacks (1922); J.A.K. Thomson (1936); P. Mazon (1950) 15–16; J.B. Hainsworth (1959–1960) 264; *Russo*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 17.57.

[22] So M. van der Valk (1966) 61–62.

[23] So J. Latacz (1968) 39–47.

In any case, this interpretation encounters too many serious objections within the Homeric epics themselves.

Some have offered the proposal that while ἄπτερος μῦθος refers to the speaker's words, the fact that they 'do not fly away' (i.e., with alpha-privative) functions in closer relation to the hearer than the speaker: i.e., she hears the words, takes them to heart, and acts on them. This may be what the scholia imply on *Od.* 17.57, although it is difficult to tell since the scholia here offer only a list of exceptionally compressed and conflicting definitions for ἄπτερος: ἄπτερος μῦθος—ἢ οὐκ ἀπέπτη ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπέμεινε μὴ ἔχων πτερόν. The *Etymologicum Genuinum* sub ἄπτερος preserves, though in disagreement, a similar ancient view: ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ παραπτάς, ἀλλ' ἔμμονος. This also appears to have been the interpretation favored by Eustathius (on *Od.* 17.57): ὁ μὴ ἀποπτὰς, ἀλλ' ἐπιμείνας τῇ γυναικί.

But few modern scholars have embraced this solution.[24] While it is attractive inasmuch as it allows us to maintain the alpha as privative and the μῦθος as that of the speaker (both of which seem likely, as argued above), the results are very awkward. The μῦθος, which belonged to the speaker, is suddenly possessed by the hearer. And while it was presumably 'winged' when uttered by the speaker, it has apparently lost its wings once it is heard by the hearer. For instead of using the μῦθος to reply, she wraps it up in her mind so that it does not fly away and get lost. It is a very strange scene to try to picture.[25]

Further, and more seriously, if ἄπτερος means 'does not fly away so as to be lost,' what does its opposite πτερόεντα mean in its one-hundred twenty-four occurrences in Homer? Did all those thousands of words of direct speech by characters in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* 'fly away so as to be lost?'

Some have tried to preempt these difficulties by taking the alpha of ἄπτερος not as alpha-privative but as alpha-intensive, a usage probably related in origin to alpha-copulative: from PIE **sem-* > ἁ > ἀ (via dissimilation of aspirates [e.g., ἀθρόος] and/or Ionic psilosis [e.g., ἀολλής]).

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[24] *Ebeling* sub ἄπτερος, proposes: "non avolabat sed haerebat in memoria." *Autenrieth* sub ἄπτερος offers: "wingless to her was what he said, i.e. it did not escape her, she caught the idea." *Ameis, Odyssey Commentary* on 17.57 explains: "ihr war ungeflügelt das Wort des Telemachos, d. i. sie bewahrte es fest und befolgte es streng." P. Mazon (1950) 16–18 is the most recent to favor this interpretation, although he modifies it slightly to express the idea that what had been said was immediately accomplished by her: i.e., "no sooner said than done."

[25] These are essentially the objections of M. van der Valk (1966) 63–64.

This was one of the solutions proposed by the ancient commentators of Homer, who debated about whether the initial alpha of many Homeric words was στερητικόν (privative), ἀθροιστικόν (copulative), or ἐπιτατικόν (intensive). In the case of ἄπτερος μῦθος the debate was specifically framed as one between privative and intensive (scholia on *Od.* 17.57): ἢ πάγιος καὶ ἀμετακίνητος, ἐκ τοῦ α στερητικοῦ μορίου. ἢ μᾶλλον σύντομος καὶ ταχὺς, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτατικοῦ. But there appears to have been a great deal of confusion as to which of all three usages was at work here, as illustrated by the various definitions offered in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* sub ἄπτερος:

> τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος—ταχὺς πρὸς τὸ πεισθῆναι καὶ ἰσόπτερος· ἡ γὰρ α στέρησις δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον καὶ τὸ ἴσον, οἷον ἀτάλαντος, ἄλοχος, ἄπτερος· ἄπτερος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἰσόπτερος καὶ ταχύς. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ παραπτάς, ἀλλ' ἔμμονος.

The ubiquitous use among the ancient commentators of the adjective ταχύς to translate ἄπτερος—as ταχέα to translate πτερόεντα—strongly suggests, however, that they generally understood the alpha of ἄπτερος as a copulative or intensive rather than a privative.

This interpretation would overcome some of the challenges to understanding the relationship between the two epithets πτερόεις and ἄπτερος. Words are usually winged, and they fly directly from the mouth of the speaker to the ears of the hearer. These words between Telemachus/Eumaeus and Penelope/Eurycleia were particularly well endowed with wings: they flew very quickly to the ears of the women, were heard clearly, and immediately heeded.

It also has the advantage of fitting the contexts of many of the post-Homeric usages of the epithet and its cognates. Helen's suitors in the Hesiodic passage obey 'quickly.'[26] Archilochus' bird flaps its wings 'speedily.' Aeschylus' Pleiades are 'swiftly flying,' while his rumor of the fall of Troy is, like all rumors, 'quick,' and his Furies' flight is—as perhaps the Furies themselves—'rapid.' It would not, of course, fit any of the usages from Euripides to Lycurgus, and later, as the epithet becomes more and more clearly regarded as a negative—with alpha privative.

Finally, it should perhaps be of more than passing interest that comparative linguistics offers a perfect analogue for this interpretation of ἄπτερος—i.e., with the alpha understood as copulative/intensive from

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[26] As also in Parmenides (fr. 1.17) and Apollonius' (*Argonautica* 4.1765) use of the adverb.

PIE **sem-*—in Sanskrit *sa-pattra-* 'feathered,' or more precisely, 'feathers and all' (e.g., Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* 5.4.61).

This ancient interpretation probably deserves greater consideration. Nonetheless, it has not received a gracious welcome among modern commentators, who for the most part strongly favor alpha-privative, whatever meaning consequently arises. Among modern scholars I find only three reluctant nods toward alpha-intensive.[27]

This may be for good reason: the ancient commentators were only too ready to slap the monicker ἐπιτατικόν on any initial alpha that was not clearly privative. We have since learned through comparative linguistics more about the habits of prothetic vowels and about the traces of various colorings of the laryngeals in Greek, and many of the so-called epitatic alphas have been better explained in other ways. We can now say that, while there are quite a few prefixes in Homer that can be labeled with some confidence alpha-copulative (ἄλοχος 'bedmate,' ἄκοιτις 'sleep-mate,' ἀτάλαντος 'of equal weight,' etc.), very few can with the same confidence be labeled alpha-intensive, the most often cited being ἄξυλος 'wooded,' ἄβρομος 'noisy,' αὐιάχος 'shouting,' ἀστεμφής 'firm,' and ἀσπερχής 'impetuous.' But the first three are *hapax legomena*, and all five have been plausibly explained in other ways: e.g., as alpha-privatives, alpha-copulatives, or assimilated forms of the prefixes ἀνα- or ἐν-.

In short, the status of an alpha-intensive in Homer is dubious; if it exists at all, it is extremely rare. It is probably not the best resolution for the etymological problem of ἄπτερος μῦθος.

Finally, there remains only to mention one more utterly inexplicable explanation offered by the ancients that has not attracted any modern advocates: that ἄπτερος meant something 'sweet' or 'pleasing': *Hesychius* sub ἄπτερος: ἄπτερα· ἰσόπτερα. ταχέα. ἡδέα; *Etymologicum Magnum* sub ἄπτερος: Ἔνιοι δὲ, ἄπτερον, τὸ ἡδὺ, ἄσμενον, ὀρθόν. An etymological connection seems out of the question. Perhaps it was simply a guess based entirely on the intimate circumstances in the four Odyssean passages.[28]

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[27] *Lobeck* I 38–39; *Russo*, *Commentary* on *Od.* 17.57; R. Drew Griffith (1995) 1.

[28] J.B. Hainsworth (1959–1960) 264, n. 2 proposes that this definition perhaps resulted from a confusion reflected in the formula ἄπτερος ὕπνος (cf. ἥδυμος ὕπνος) in the *Anthologia Graeca* 5.174. M. van der Valk (1966) 62–63 supposes that Aeschylus, like some of the later scholia, understood ἄπτερος as pleasant/attractive in Homer and used it this way in his expression ἄπτερος φάτις.

To sum up so far, the usual tools of the philologist (etymology, semantics, comparative linguistics, etc.) have proven too blunt to explain with any confidence the formula ἄπτερος μῦθος.

A Phonological Approach

I would like to re-examine another proposal, raised very tentatively and only in passing by F. Weck in 1884 and later fleshed out in somewhat more detail by J.B. Hainsworth in 1960.[29] I think we can make some advances on their proposals in view of the greater familiarity we have gained over the past generation with the world's many oral traditions and how they have been passed down through the ages, and especially in view of that aspect of the transmission—at least in the case of the early Greek epic tradition—being examined in this work: namely, the creative force of junctural metanalysis in the development of new diction in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.

Weck rejected the usual interpretations of ἔπεα πτερόεντα as 'winged' or 'feathered'—in fact he labeled them ludicrous and praised god that he could finally be rid of them. Instead he used the other formula ἅπτερος μῦθος as a guide in his reconstruction of an original ἔπε' ἁπτερόεντα (with rough breathing), out of which he thought grew the 'disfigured' form found one-hundred twenty-four times in Homer: ἔπεα πτερόεντα. He proposed that the alpha of the formula ἅπτερος μῦθος was not privative, copulative, euphonic, or prothetic, but rather part of the actual stem of the word: ἅπτω, ἅπτομαι ('to grasp'). It had nothing to do with wings or feathers (i.e., πτερ- in its various forms). The two formulas ἔπε' ἁπτερόεντα and ἅπτερος μῦθος (both with rough breathings) meant the same thing: 'words that grasp,' or in a more general sense 'words that are urgent.' The adjective ἅπτερος spawned ἁπτερόεις (cf. φαίδιμος-φαιδιμόεις, etc.), which was then deformed when the formula ἔπε' ἁπτερόεντα was incorrectly analyzed as ἔπεα πτερόεντα.

Weck's is a fascinating and novel conjecture that would put to rest many of the controversies mentioned above. And though it is fundamentally flawed in its details, it begins to shed some light on what may have actually happened during the evolution of the formula. Weck is correct to assume that some sort of 'deformation' took place—I prefer

[29] F. Weck (1884); J.B. Hainsworth (1959–1960).

the more positive term 'metanalysis.' But he is wrong on all other counts: ἄπτερος (4x in Homer) does not explain ἔπεα πτερόεντα (124x); rather ἔπεα πτερόεντα, which is the primary form of the traditional formula, explains by its potential for metanalysis the secondary form ἄπτερος. The form πτερόεις makes better semantic sense than Weck's hypothetical ἀπτερόεις, both when it modifies ἔπεα, which are conceived of as 'winged' like birds or 'feathered' like arrows throughout Greek literature, and when it modifies other objects in Homer, such as arrows (ἰοί, ἰά, ὀϊστοί), with their feathered fletchings, and raw-hide shields (λαισήϊα), with their rough and shaggy surfaces or, perhaps, even with feathered fringes. What is more, the epithet πτερόεις exists in Homer outside this formula, several times without a preceding word ending in alpha (*Il.* 5.171, 453; 12.426; 16.773; cf. Hesiod's *Scutum* 220). It was a word in its own right, with the flexibility to appear in different forms and contexts; it was not, as Weck's proposal requires, just a fossilized formulaic deformation.

Two generations later, J.B. Hainsworth, apparently unaware of Weck's earlier proposal, suggested that the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα had become trite and ultimately meaningless through long use. Hence it was falsely divided as ἔπε' ἀπτερόεντα by some poet, perhaps under the influence of, e.g., ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα or ἔπε' ἀκράαντα. Since the jejune sense 'swift' was attached to the formula as a whole, the meaning would not have been affected by the false division of the formula's components. Given ἀπτερόεις, the derivation of ἄπτερος was simple: cf. φαίδιμος-φαιδιμόεις, φοινός-φοινήεις, etc. And so, though having come to his conclusion by a different route than had Weck, Hainsworth concurs that the two formulas ἔπεα πτερόεντα and ἄπτερος μῦθος meant one and the same thing: 'swift word(s).'

Hainsworth's proposal has not been well received.[30] He has been generally misunderstood—e.g., by P. Chantraine and J. Russo[31]—to have made the unlikely suggestion, like Weck, that ἀπτερόεντα was the primary form, and πτερόεντα a secondary deformation. But Hainsworth in fact argued precisely the opposite: that the "old traditional expression" πτερόεντα was the primary form, which was falsely divided "by some poet at some time" as ἀπτερόεντα. This is a much more plausible view of its evolution.

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[30] I find only one lukewarm affirmation, by R. Drew Griffith (1995) 1, who admits that a false division is a possibility that explains the synonymity of πτερόεις and ἄπτερος.

[31] *DELG* sub πτερόν; *Russo, Commentary* on *Od.* 17.57.

M. van der Valk understood Hainsworth's proposal more clearly and disagreed with it on somewhat firmer grounds: "I cannot believe that an epic poet should have committed such an error of interpretation. For everyone who reads the expression (ἔπεα πτερόεντα) will admit that πτερόεντα 'winged, feathered' completely suits the idea of 'words.'"[32] However, as I shall suggest below, van der Valk's criticism is undermined by the prejudice revealed in his wording: "an error of *interpretation*," and "for everyone who *reads* the expression." For we should not envisage a professional philologist interpreting a passage as he reads studiously in the privacy of his office, but rather an apprentice, or another bard, listening in a leisurely fashion to the oral delivery of a singer at a public performance. This is important, for in the oral/aural interplay of a bardic performance it is not at all unlikely that such a metanalysis should have taken place.

Oral theory, then, provides the starting point. And here I return to Milman Parry's suggestion that I noted at the beginning of this chapter: that the traditional whole verse formula καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (including its ornamental epithet πτερόεντα), which occurs some one-hundred and twenty-four times in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in its various avatars, had lost its original semantic force and retained only a formal function in the epic diction. This function was to introduce a speech by a character who had been the explicit subject of the last few verses, so that the repetition of his name in the verse would be clumsy. In other words, the formula was used because it was a convenience of verse-composition, not because it had any particular meaning beyond 'he said.'[33]

Few today would phrase the matter as starkly and strongly as Parry, but the continued study of comparative oral traditions has shown that this kind of functionality is a common feature of the various families of the world's orally composed and transmitted epic poetry. J.M. Foley's study of speech introductions among the South Slavic epic poets, the *guslari*, for example, led him to conclude that, like their Homeric counterparts, these formulaic phrases have no deep resonance but rather fulfill a basic function: they slot whatever follows as a speech, equating the immediately subsequent passage with numerous other

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[32] M. van der Valk (1966) 63, n. 156.

[33] *MHV* 372–373, 379–383 (where we find a comparison of the Homeric and South Slavic formulas for speaking), and 414–418. Seconded by J.B. Hainsworth (1959–1960) 265–266; F. Létoublon (1999) 331–332; S. Pulleyn (2000) 180–181.

such passages of direct discourse. So, for example, the construction '*pa besjedi*,' which literally means 'then he announced or orated,' simply means within the epic way of speaking 'then he spoke.' Likewise the construction '*iz grla povika*,' which literally means 'he shouted from his white throat,' means no more than 'he spoke.' The formulas do not generate an overly complex semantic meaning; rather, they serve a simple function.[34]

We return, then, to our Homeric formula. Over time—at least a generation or so (since some instances of the formula, such as καί μιν ἀμειβόμενος (ϝ)έπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, require digamma and some, such as καί μιν δάκρυ χέουσ' ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, prohibit it)—the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα had lost much of its semantic force for both bard and audience. It had become, to use Parry's terms, a 'traditional formula' with an 'ornamental epithet.' The formula came to be understood by bard and audience as a single utterance—/epeapteroenta/—that conveyed the meaning 'words spoken directly and heard receptively by characters within the epic,' i.e., direct speech. The formula would not have been readily analyzed by the pre-Homeric Greek epic bards and their audiences as a combination of two distinct words: a noun in the neuter, accusative, plural followed by an adjective agreeing with it in gender, case, and number. They would not have been interested in breaking down the formula any further, or have felt any need to do so, nor would they have been particularly alert to its etymological origins. The formula had acquired a largely formal function, and its semantic force, which once must have been vivid and powerful, indeed marvelous in its novelty, had gone through a long process of obfuscation.

I envisage some bard along the way who, in need of a new phrase for speaking, this time with μῦθος instead of ἔπος, did not stop to analyze precisely and accurately into its component parts the traditional formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα, which had flowed so effortlessly countless times through the mouths of his bardic predecessors. Rather I envisage him simply and casually recomposing (metanalyzing) the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα

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[34] J.M. Foley (1999) 104, where he considers specifically the formal function of speech introductions in Serbo-Croation, and 65–111, where he considers more generally the 'referentiality' (i.e., the meaning beyond lexical definition) of traditional words, formulaic phrases, type-scenes, and story patterns; similarly J.M. Foley (1990) 42–50, where we learn about these concepts directly from the mouths, and in the simple terms, of the *guslari* themselves.

(προσηύδα, etc.) as ἔπε' ἀπτερόεντα (προσηύδα, etc.) on the analogy of the many other similar formulas familiar to him:

– ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – ἔπε' ἀθανάτοισι μετηύδα (*Od.* 1.31)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἔπε' Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα (*Il.* 2.109; 9.16)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἔπε' ἀλλήλοισι πίφαυσκον (*Il.* 10.202)
– ⏑ ⏑ / – – / – ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες (*Od.* 19.565)
– – / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖσι (*Od.* 17.519)

This highly formalized and traditional system of comparable phrases occupied the same metrical space as the formulaic –⏑ ⏑ / – ⏑ ⏑ / – ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (penthemimeral caesura to verse end), but with the final alpha of ἔπεα elided before a following vowel.[35] As we have observed already, given ἀπτερόεις the derivation of ἄπτερος within the epic *Kunstsprache* was simple, indeed predictable, on the analogy of Homeric φαιδιμόεις-φαίδιμος, φοινήεις-φοινός, τελήεις-τέλειος, μεσήεις-μέσος, etc.

In other words, in this case, as only very rarely—e.g., ἔχεν ἥδυμος ὕπνος > ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος (*Il.* 2.2); ἐπ' ἰκτιδέην κυνέην > ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην (*Il.* 10.335); π(τ)ολέμοιό γ' ἔφυρας > π(τ)ολέμοιο γέφυρας (*Il.* 4.371, etc.)—the Homeric epics themselves reveal a likely avenue for the metanalysis: the one-hundred twenty-four instances of ἔπεα πτερόεντα distributed throughout the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We need look no further, and we need not grope around for hypothetical avenues of metanalysis, as we have done in deriving, for example, the formula ἀργυρέας ἀσαμίνθους (*Od.* 4.128) from *ἀργυρέαν νασάμινθον, Ἀβίων (*Il.* 13.6) from *Γαβίων, and σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς (*Il.* 20.72) from *Ἑρμείας ὠκύς. Rather, by simply observing the capacity of Homeric diction to beget Homeric diction, we may enjoy the rare luxury, in Porphyry's words, of 'elucidating Homer from Homer.'

We may even venture a more daring proposal: that, based on the even distribution of ἔπεα πτερόεντα throughout the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in contrast to the isolation of ἄπτερος μῦθος in the last third of the *Odyssey*, it was possibly the singer of our *Odyssey* himself who committed the metanalysis and thereupon generated the new formula. But all this is well beyond proof.[36]

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[35] It is noteworthy that our formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα actually appears as a manuscript variant in two of these passages (*Il.* 2.109 and *Od.* 1.31).

[36] This possibility was raised by J.B. Hainsworth (1959–1960) 267–268, who notes the correlation between the absence of ἄπτερος in the *Iliad* and the *Iliad's* at least partially

Whatever the case, the metanalysis of ἔπεα πτερόεντα made no difference to the semantics of the epithet, or to the formula in which it was embedded. The outcome of the metanalysis, the epithet ἄπτερος, is semantically indistinguishable from its progenitor, the epithet πτερόεις, and the two should probably be rendered alike in our modern translations. The incomprehensible distinction often made between 'winged words' and 'wingless speech' is a figment of our philological imaginations.[37]

free use of πτερόεις (i.e., to modify arrows and shields as well as words), and the presence of ἄπτερος in the *Odyssey* and the *Odyssey's* complete fossilization of ἔπεα πτερόεντα within the whole verse formula. This need not require, as Hainsworth implies, separate authorship of the two epics. Even if the singer of both epics was one and the same person, he could have invented the new formula τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος during the later composition of the *Odyssey*—cf. M. van der Valk (1966) 59, 64.

[37] This chapter appeared in an earlier form in the journal *Classical Philology* (see S. Reece [2009a]).

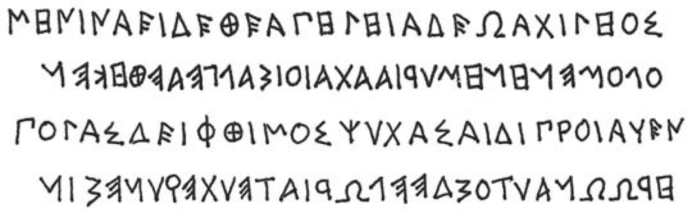
ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

Illustration I

A speech spectrogram of the author uttering the sentence: "Then all of ancient Achaea cried out in anger." Note the absence of clear markers at many of the word boundaries, especially when a word ending in a consonant is followed by a word beginning with a vowel.

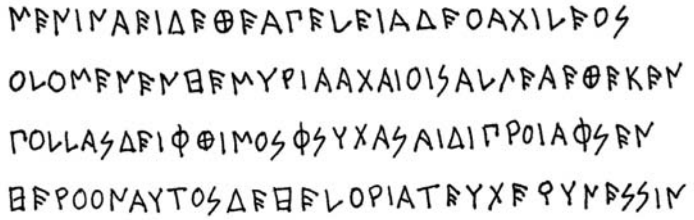
Illustration II Reconstruction of the text of *Iliad* 1.1–4 from various periods.

c. 700 B.C.



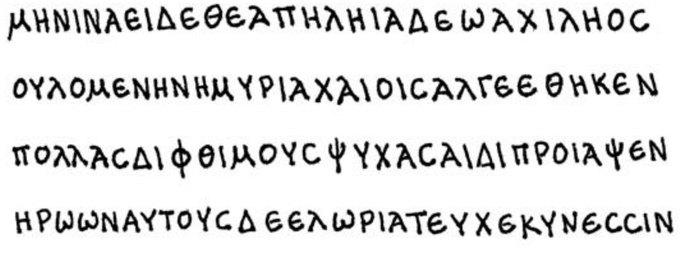
East Ionic alphabet of twenty-five letters (including omega, koppa, xi, psi; excluding digamma; H = eta). *Boustrophedon* (lines alternate between left-to-right and right-to-left). *Scriptio continua* (no demarcation of word divisions). *Scriptio plena* (vowels elided in pronunciation are written out in full). Haplography of geminated consonants (e.g. πολ(λ)άς, κύνεσ(σ)ιν). No punctuation or accentuation.

c. 500 B.C.



Attic alphabet of twenty-three letters (including digamma, koppa; excluding omega, xi, psi; H = aspiration; O = ο, ω, ου; E = ε, η, ει; ΧΣ = ξ; ΦΣ = Ψ). Left-to-right. *Scriptio continua* (no demarcation of word divisions). *Scriptio plena* (vowels elided in pronunciation are written out in full). No haplography of geminated consonants (e.g. πολλάς, κύνεσσιν). No punctuation or accentuation.

c. 300 B.C.



Standardized Ionic alphabet of twenty-four letters (including omega, xi, psi; excluding digamma, koppa; H = eta). Left-to-right. *Scriptio continua* (no demarcation of word divisions). No *scriptio plena* (vowels elided in pronunciation are omitted). No haplography of geminated consonants (e.g. πολλάς, κύνεσσιν). No punctuation or accentuation.

Illustration III

The mural crown of the goddess Tyche (Fortuna) evokes the ancient association of Homeric κρήδεμνον 'a woman's headdress' and κρήδεμνα 'the walls of a city' in this 1st c. B.C. Roman marble copy of a 4th c. B.C. Greek bronze original made for the city of Antioch by the sculptor Eutychides of Sicyon. This copy is housed in the Vatican Museum's Galleria dei Candelabri (#2672).

Illustration IV

Mycenaean-era ἀσάμινθος 'bathtub' from the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos in Western Messenia.

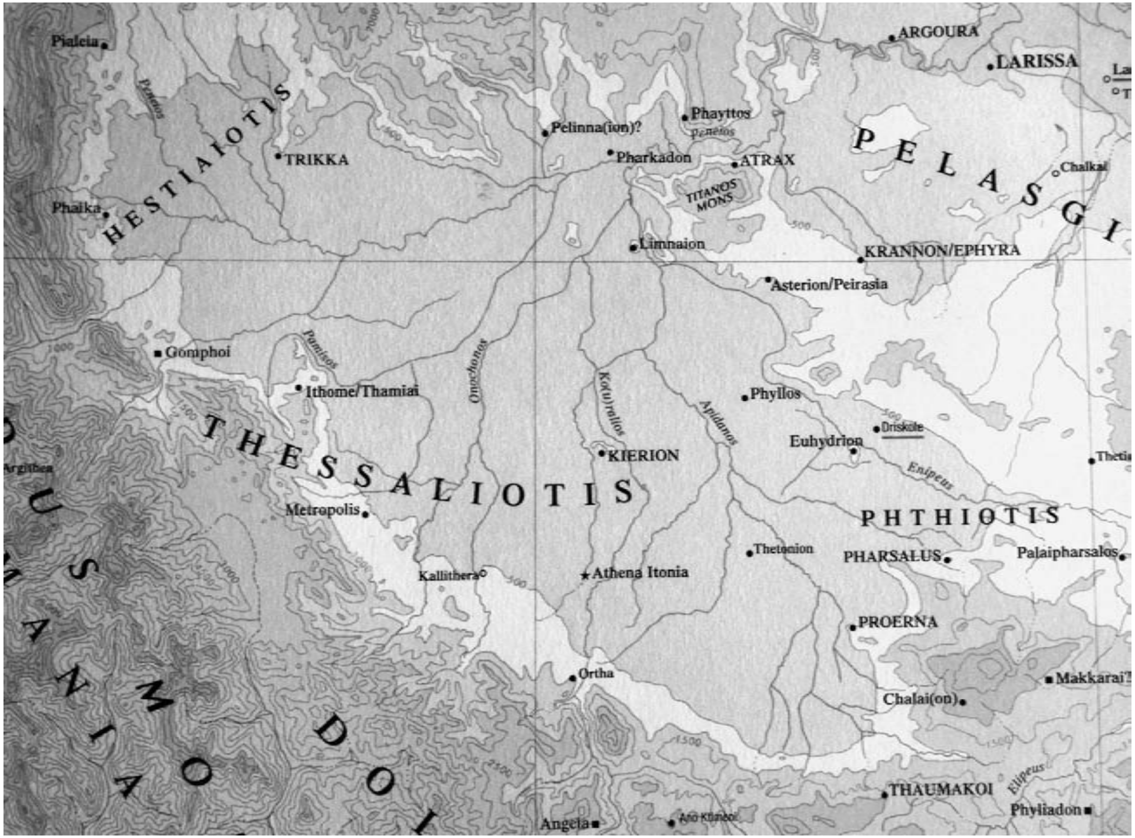
Illustration V

Mycenaean-era lyre player from a wall painting in the throne room of the Palace of Nestor at Ano Englianos. The heavily reconstructed figure of the bird evokes the Homeric formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα 'winged words.' Reconstruction by Piet de Jong (Chora Museum).

Map I Isos

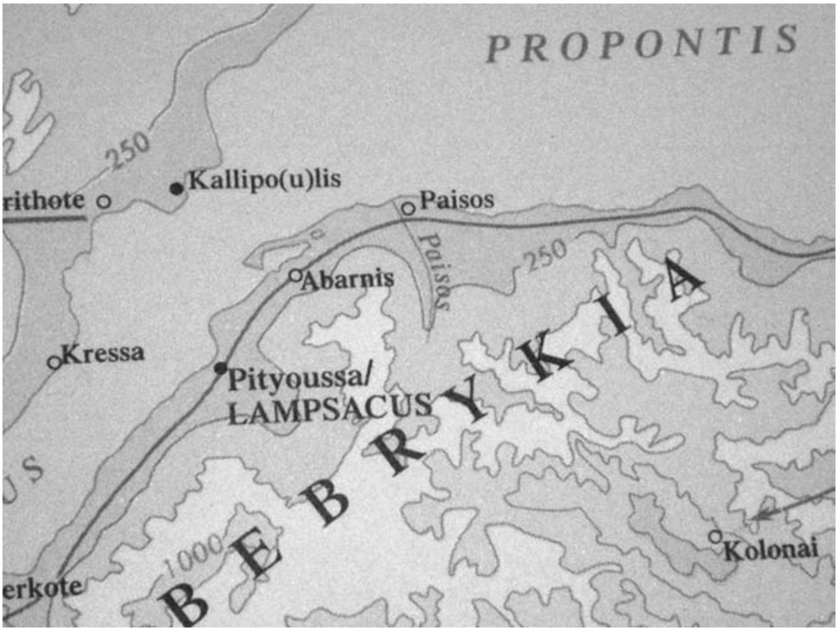
Boeotian Isos (here spelled Issos) on the northeast shore of Lake Paralimni (here named Hylike). R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, © 2000 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

Map II Ithome



Ithome/Thamiai in the northwest reaches of the Thessalian plain. R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, © 2000 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

Map III Paisos



Paisos/Apaisos on the south shore of the Hellespont close to where it meets the Propontis. R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, © 2000 Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

MAJOR LEXICAL AND ETYMOLOGICAL WORKS OF THE LAST TWO CENTURIES

(listed in chronological order)

H. Estienne (i.e., Henricus Stephanus [1572]), *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Paris: Didot, 1831–1865).

P. Buttmann, *Lexilogus oder Beiträge zur griechischen Worterklärung* (Berlin: in der Myliussischen Buchhandlung, 1818; repr. Hildensheim: G. Olms, 1968).

L. von Doederlein, *Homerisches Glossarium* (Stuttgart: F. Enke Verlages, 1850–1858; repr. Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1967).

C.A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae Graeci Sermonis Elementa*, Two volumes (Regimontii Borussorum: Borntraeger, 1853, 1862; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1966).

G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1858–1862).

E.E. Seiler, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch uber die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* 7th ed. (Leipzig: Hahn, 1872).

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G. Autenrieth, *Wörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881; English trans. by R. Keep [London: Duckworth, 1984]; new German ed. with A. Kaegi [Leipzig: Teubner, 1999]).

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W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892).

J. van Leeuwen, *Enchiridium Dictionis Epicae* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1894; 2nd ed. 1918).

L. Meyer, *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1901–1902).

M.B. Mendes da Costa, *Index Etymologicus Dictionis Homericae* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1905).

É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1907–1916; 4th ed. 1950).

A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1909; 2nd ed. 1932–1959).

F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer: Etymologie und Stammbildung homerischer Wörter* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1914; repr. Hildensheim: G. Olms, 1964).

R.J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London: Blackie and Son, 1924; new ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963).

A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927–1932, repr. 1973).

R.J. Cunliffe, *Homeric Proper and Place Names: A Supplement to "A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect"* (London: Blackie and Son, 1931).

C.D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1933).

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E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* Two volumes (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1939, 1950).

H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940).

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J.B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1949; 2nd ed. 1971).

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D. Demetrakos, *Mega Lexikon Oles Tes Hellenikes Glosses* (Athens: Demetrakou, 1953).

H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1954–1979).

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A. Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon* (Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1963).

J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach, "The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary," *Glotta* 41 (1963) 157–271.

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P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–1980).

E.A. Barber, P. Maas, M. Scheller, and M.L. West, *Greek-English Lexicon: A Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

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G.P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

J.-P. Olivier, et al. (edd.), *Index généraux du linéaire B* (Rome: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1973).

J. Stark, *Der latente Sprachschatz Homers* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1973).

R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

G. Jucquois and B. Devlamminck, *Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du grec ancien* (Louvain: Peeters, 1977).

R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones, Second Series* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

F.A. Jorro and F.R. Adrados, *Diccionario Micénico* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985–1993).

A.J. van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque* (Louvain: Peeters, 1986).

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A.L. Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

P.G.W. Glare and A.A. Thompson, *Greek-English Lexicon: Revised Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

J. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

P.B. Colera, *Repertorio Bibliográfico de la Lexicografía Griega* [RBLG] (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998).

I. Hajnal, *Mykenisches und homerisches Lexikon* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1998).

A. Blanc, C. de Lamberterie, and J.-L. Perpillou, *Supplément au dictionnaire* (to P. Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*) (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999).

J. Latacz, "Wort-Index Homerisch-Mykenisch," in *Homers Ilias Gesamtkommentar* (Munich: K.G. Saur, 2000) 209–234.

A. Bartoněk, *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 2003).

F.R. Adrados, et al. (edd.), *Diccionario griego-español* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980–).

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Electronic Resources

L'Année philologique Webpage – http://www.annee-philologique.com/aph/

Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Webpage – http://www.tlg.uci.edu/

Chronique d'étymologie grecque Webpage – http://perso.club-internet.fr/flo.blanc/CEG/52.html

Repertorio Bibliográfico de la Lexicografía Griega Webpage – http://www.filol.csic.es/dge/blg/2blg-s.htm

The Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Webpage – http://www.indo-european.nl/%5Cindex2.html

Homer and the Papyri Webpage – http://www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl

Advanced Papyrological Information System Webpage – http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/

Oxyrhynchus Papyri Webpage – http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/

Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri Webpage – http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html

Leuven Database of Ancient Books Webpage – http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/

Perseus Digital Library Webpage – http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/

Packard Humanities Institute Greek Epigraphy Project Webpage – http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/

Packard Humanities Institute Latin Texts—CD-Rom #5.3

Packard Humanities Institute Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri—CD-Rom #7

APPENDIX TWO

MONDEGREENS

As we observed in chapter two, Middle English has produced a hoard of new words and phrases as a result of various types of resegmentation at word junctures. This was due partly to the lack of standardization in the Middle English lexicon, partly to the phonetic situation during this period, specifically the lack of an open juncture phoneme, and more generally to the reality that this was primarily an oral rather than a textual culture. But we need not rely entirely on an earlier form of English for examples of this linguistic phenomenon; it is readily detectable to this day in our more fluid, oral-aural forms of discourse—song lyrics, creeds and liturgies, jokes and riddles—and is known colloquially by various names.

The term 'mondegreen' has been popularly applied to the phenomenon, although it has not yet achieved the status of a standardized word in the English lexicon (*viz.* it is not in the printed version of the Unabridged Oxford English Dictionary, though it has recently made its way into the electronic update). A 'mondegreen' is an aural (hearing) error, and is to be distinguished from a 'malapropism,' which is an oral (speaking) error. The term was coined by the writer Sylvia Wright, who as a child heard the Scottish ballad by Thomas Percy "The Bonny Earl of Murray" and understood the first stanza as follows:

1 Ye Highlands and ye Lowlands,
2 Oh, where hae ye been?
3 They hae slain the Earl Amurray,
4 And *Lady Mondegreen.*

Later in life she realized to her chagrin that the stanza was actually much less romantic:

3 They hae slaine the earl of Murray,
4 And hae *layd him on the green.*

Wright was so distraught by the sudden disappearance of her heroine Lady Mondegreen, who had died, she imagined, such a valiant death

at the side of her lover, that she memorialized her with the neologism 'mondegreen.' She then began to collect similar mishearings of song lyrics, poems, patriotic utterances, and the like, and published them in an article titled "The Death of Lady Mondegreen" in the November 1954 issue of Harper's Magazine.[1]

Since that time 'mondegreens' have become objects of interest to many enthusiastic collectors: in newspaper columns, in short pamphlets, and on electronic web pages.[2] But unfortunately the term has come to be used rather loosely to include all kinds of mishearings, especially of song lyrics. I am interested in the present study, for the sake of analogy, in retaining the original and rather narrower use of 'mondegreen' to mean a misanalysis of word junctures by a hearer ('junctural metanalysis'), i.e., a resegmentation of a word or phrase by a hearer into entirely different combinations of sounds and words than those intended by a speaker. Sometimes these misanalyses and resegmentations can even result in neologisms (new additions to our English lexicon), such as the word 'mondegreen' itself.

Mondegreens in Song Lyrics

Arguably, the most famous mondegreen of a popular song is the mishearing of the lyrics from Jimi Hendrix' "Purple Haze": "scuse me while I *kiss the sky*" as "scuse me while I *kiss this guy*." Once the mishearing became a commonplace among his audiences, Hendrix began to play along with the ambiguity by pointing to one of his fellow band members or even miming a kiss to him at this point in the performance.

In the first act of Gilbert and Sullivan's opera "The Mikado," Pish-Tush addresses a song titled "Young Man, Despair" to the young hero

---

[1] S. Wright (1954); see also the chapter "The Death of Lady Mondegreen" in S. Wright (1957).

[2] Cf. the pamphlets of Gavin Edwards (1995, 1996, 1997, 1998) and Charles Grosvenor, Jr. (2007, 2008). For some very informative web pages, see: A.Word.A.Day list at http://www.wordsmith.org/awad/index.html and The Archive of Misheard Lyrics at http://www.kissthisguy.com/. And for a wealth of examples of 'mondegreens,' in both paper and electronic form, see Jon Carroll's series of newspaper columns that were initiated with "Red, White, and Mondegreen," in the Chronicles Section of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Thursday, February 16, 1995). All of Jon Carroll's columns related to 'mondegreens,' from 1995–2004, are collected and readily accessible at http://www.sfgate.com/columnists/carroll/mondegreens.shtml.

Nanki-Poo, telling him that he must give up his desire to wed Yum-Yum because she is now betrothed to her guardian Ko-Ko, Lord High Executioner of Titipu. The song includes the refrain: "She'll toddle away, *as all aver*, with the Lord High Executioner!" This refrain has puzzled any number of Gilbert and Sullivan fans over the years, since the mysterious character named *Oliver* never appears again in the story.

Milton Drake, Al Hoffman, and Jerry Livingston's song "Mairzy Doats," popular during WWII, runs: "I know a ditty, nutty as a fruit cake, goofy as a goon, and silly as a loon. Some call it pretty, others call it crazy, but they all sing this tune: 'Mairzy Doats and Dozy Doats and liddle lamzy divey, a kiddley divey too, wouldn't you? Yes! Mairzy Doats and Dozy Doats and liddle lamzy divey, a kiddley divey too, wouldn't you?' If the words sound queer, and funny to your ear, a little bit jumbled and jivey, sing 'Mares eat oats and does eat oats and little lambs eat ivy. Oh! Mairzy Doats and Dozy Doats and liddle lamzy divey, a kiddley divey too, wouldn't you? A kiddley divey too, wouldn't you?' (Miller Music Corporation, New York, N.Y., 1943)."

Christmas carols, because of their archaic language, on the one hand, combined with the youthfulness of many who sing them, on the other, are particularly susceptible to misunderstanding: a friend once heard "Hark the *herald angels sing*" as "Hark the *Harold Angel, sing.*" The ambiguity of the 's' between 'angels' and 'sing' has combined with lack of familiarity with the archaic 'hark' and 'herald,' resulting in this nomenclatorial and syntactical monstrosity. Interestingly, the very term for a 14th c. German Christmas carol, the "*Quempas* Carol," still popular today, is an old resegmentation of the Latin words of the text "*quem pas*tores laudavere" ('he whom the shepherds praised').

The archaic language of hymns has likewise promoted many entertaining misanalyses: "What is the name of God," once asked a pastor. To which a young boy replied, "Andy." "How's that?" queried the pastor. "I heard it in the song," replied the boy, "*Andy* walks with me, *Andy* talks with me" (from the hymn "In the Garden": "*And He* walks with me, *and He* talks with me…"). An Easter hymn has been affectionately titled by some "The Gravy Song," since its lyrics "Up from the *grave He arose*…" were misheard as "Up from the *gravy, a rose*!" Another hymn has been titled "The Dumb Brother Song," since its lyrics "Are you sowing the seed of the *kingdom, brother*?" were misheard as "Are you sowing the seed of the *king, dumb brother*?"

Mondegreens in Creeds and Liturgies

In *The Goose-Step*, a provocative study of education in the United States during the early 1920's, Upton Sinclair recounts his early experiences in religious education. He had carefully memorized the line "*Thence He* shall come to judge the quick and the dead," but it took him some years to decide whether '*Thency*' was the name of a person or a place.[3]

The title of Malachy McCourt's memoir *A Monk Swimming* is the result of his childhood understanding of the prayer "Hail Mary, full of grace, blessed art thou *amongst women* and blessed is the fruit of thy womb."[4]

I have already mentioned my brother's reanalysis of the plea in the Lord's Prayer "Lead *us not* into temptation" as "Lead *a snot* into temptation." On a related note, a friend remembers from his youth the oft-repeated Catholic prayer "who *cease not* daily…" as "who *see snot* daily…"

"What are '*nenemies*,' and why do they give us *presents*?" asked a youngster once after a recitation of Psalm 23: "the *presence* of *mine enemies*."

Mondegreens in Commercials and Advertisements

Radio and television commercials, in which time constrictions require quicker than normal speech, often to an inattentive and disengaged audience, provide a fertile field for the cultivation of mondegreens, most inadvertent, but some quite deliberate.

A radio commercial's promotion of the San Francisco-based bargain clothing outlet "*Ross Dress for Less*" was recently heard by one listener as a logo more appropriate for a health spa: "*Raw Stress for Less*."

Imagine a father's consternation when, as he sat in the car with his young son, he heard on a radio commercial that "Putnam Oldsmobile is opening its '*nudist play area*' (i.e., '*new display area*')."

My aunt Dodie remembers sitting at a table trying to do some serious work while the television blared in the neighboring room. Curious about what she thought she had heard, she went into the television room to

[3] U. Sinclair (1923) 2–3.
[4] M. McCourt (1998).

inquire, "What's this about a '*hairy mover*' anyway; and why should it matter whether the mover is hairy or not as long as he can load up the furniture?" It turns out that she had overheard a commercial for Nair '*hair remover*.'

A recent television commercial for Corona beer presents a scene of a group of young people drinking beer in a relaxed, tropical paradise, to which a subtitle is attached reading "change your *whole latitude*" (clearly a deliberate word play on the cliché "change your *whole attitude*").

The pet store called "PETSMART" is written without word break to allow (apparently deliberately) for the double meaning: "*pet smart*" and "*pets mart*."

Mondegreens in Jokes and Riddles

Playing around with the phonetic boundaries of words is a common source of amusement in jokes and riddles.

"Knock, knock jokes," for example, often depend on a resegmentation of a word: "Knock, knock." "Who's there?" "Isabel." "Isabel who?" "Isabel-necessary-on-a-bicycle?"

A leitmotif in the television show *The Simpsons* is Bart Simpson's call to the bar to ask for such variously comprehensible names as: Ben Dover, Aileen Dover, and Al Choholic.

National Public Radio's "Car Talk" always ends with a list of fictitious credits that rely for their humor on ambiguous word boundaries: Law Firm—Dewey, Cheetham & Howe; Statistician—Marge Innovera; Assertiveness Training Coach—Lois Steem; and so forth.

Miscellaneous Mondegreens

Lake "*Itasca*," the source of the Mississippi river in Minnesota, is reportedly a mangling of the Latin phrase "ver*itas ca*put," which the lake's discoverer took to mean 'true head.'[5]

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[5] This story is recorded in the journal of Henry Schoolcraft, the first Caucasian to reach the headwaters of the Mississippi River. In his search for the source of the Mississippi, Schoolcraft trekked upriver with a team of Ojibwe guides during the summer of 1832. When he finally came upon a deep, spring-fed lake with no feeder streams, he realized that he had reached the end of his journey. Satisfied that this lake was the source of the Mississippi, he named it "*Itasca*," from the middle syllables of the Latin "ver*itas ca*put," 'true head' (or so he thought!). The name sounded enough

The coinage "*lorem ipsum*," a nonsensical text that is used as filler by type-setters, comes from a phrase in Cicero "do*lorem ipsum*, quia dolor sit, amat." ('[no one] loves pain itself because it is pain.').

A "*mystery phantom*" was once rumored to haunt the halls of the Classics Department at Princeton University. The source? A hapless new graduate student had seen E. Fantham listed among the Classics faculty and assumed that she (Elaine Fantham) was a man: *Mr. E. Fantham*.[6]

Perhaps the strange but affectionate phrase "*a nice, cold* beer" is a misconstrual of the perfectly intelligible "*an ice-cold* beer?" Similarly, the less attractive "*an ice-cold* shower" has more than once been understood as "*a nice, cold* shower."

The shock jock Howard Stern, having been told by a Penthouse pet that she had done "*an info-mercial*," at once responded "you did *a nympho-mercial*?"[7]

Sup?, a modern colloquial interrogative, is an aphetic form of the expression "What'*s up*?"

Blog, a neologism of the Internet culture that has spawned both verbal ('to blog,' 'blogging') and nominal ('a blog,' 'a blogger') forms, apparently owes its origin to the colorless collocation 'we*b log*.'[8]

Causes of Mondegreens

What accounts for the ubiquity of mondegreens? What are the linguistic forces behind their production? In what environments are they most likely arise? The answers to these questions may shed some light on why junctural metanalysis has occurred throughout human history in certain of the world's language groups, and, more particularly, why it has occurred so frequently in the poetic language of Homeric Greek. I venture a few casual observations:

1) Mondegreens are most common in oral-aural communication, in which a text is entirely absent. A text is a strong standardizing force, since it enables, indeed requires, the reader to accept the word division intended by the writer.

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like an Indian word that scholars later searched for its etymological roots in Siouan and Algonquian dictionaries.

6 Thanks to Christopher Brunelle for bringing this mondegreen to my attention.

7 Thanks to John Lenz for bringing this mondegreen to my attention.

8 Thanks to Kieran Cofell-Dwyer for bringing this mondegreen to my attention.

2) Mondegreens seem to be more common in some languages than in others. The phonology of a language appears to be a major contributor: e.g., the nature of the accentual system; and the status of the open-juncture phoneme /+/.
3) Mondegreens often occur when auditors do not comprehend a word or phrase. Auditors may be unfamiliar with a word or phrase in a foreign language, for example, or with an archaic or dialectal form of their own language, and so they substitute something more familiar.[9]
4) The expectations of auditors wield considerable influence on what they think they have heard. This occurs at several levels: Accentual and Metrical: e.g., if in a song, or poem, or liturgy, an auditor were to become accustomed to a particular metrical rhythm, with the resulting accentuation (at least in a 'stress' language like English), it is possible that this could cause a misconstrual of word juncture. For example, if the singer of the lyrics "Can't you see that I love you" were to extend the trochaic rhythm beyond the first four words, the phrase would sound very much like "Can't you see that aisle of view." So in English generally an erroneous shift in accentuation by a speaker can lead to a resegmentation by an auditor: e.g., "I don't know how mature people enjoy such a show" > "I don't know how much your people enjoy such a show"; "The good can decay many ways" > "The good candy came anyways."

   Phonetic: e.g., many words in English end in *-s*, and many others begin in *s-*; hence the transference of a word end to word beginning (i.e., 'prothesis' of /s/), or vice versa ('aphaeresis' of /s/), is common ("he is Parson Brown" > "he is sparse and brown").

   Syntactic: e.g., the syntactic arrangement object-subject-verb is very uncommon in English; hence there is a temptation to reanalyze

[9] This may seem to be a needlessly obvious point to make. Obscure words such as *numble-pie* have been refashioned through false association with something more familiar throughout the history of the English language—in this case as *humble-pie*. And modern linguistic studies have shown that when presented with pairs of utterances such as *to barge in* / *to bar gin*, *to play games* / *to plague Ames*, *low mirth* / *loam earth*, auditors much more often comprehend them as the more familiar of the two phrases; see J.D. O'Connor and O.M. Tooley (1964). Yet some observers have proposed just the opposite: that mishearings like mondegreens are generally less plausible than what was intended by the speaker—so S. Pinker (1994) 186–187. I would respond that they may seem less plausible to a learned reader, like Pinker, who is analyzing the biforms at leisure, but they are generally more plausible to an auditor in the context in which they are embedded.

word junctures to produce a more familiar syntax ("Gladly the cross I'd bear" > "Gladly, the cross-eyed bear").

Contextual: e.g., the content of a song or story, or simply the social situation, creates certain expectations for the auditor; hence a middle-school social studies class might be the most likely group to mishear a teacher's assignment on "euthanasia" as "Youth in Asia."

Register: the register of the language being spoken (polite vs. casual, public vs. private, etc.) raises certain expectations; hence someone listening to a radio broadcast about fine dining is more likely to mishear the restaurant's name "Dakota Farms" as "The Coat of Arms."

In sum, by way of analogy, we come to the realization that it is no surprise that the Homeric *Kunstsprache*, given its oral medium and transmission, its traditional and archaic nature, its lack of an open juncture phoneme, and its metrical and accentual expectations, became a fertile field for the cultivation of junctural metanalyses.

APPENDIX THREE

SYNONYMS AND NEAR-SYNONYMS OF THE TERM 'JUNCTURAL METANALYSIS'

Metanalysis	coined by Otto Jespersen (1914)
Junctural metanalysis	coined by Louis Marck (1967)
Additive junctural metanalysis	coined by Louis Marck (1967)
Subtractive junctural metanalysis	coined by Louis Marck (1967)
Prothesis	ancient Greek linguistic category
Prosthesis	ancient Greek linguistic category
Aphaeresis	ancient Greek linguistic category
Aphesis	ancient Greek linguistic category
Misdivision/Misanalysis	descriptive vernacular expression
False division/analysis/segmentation	descriptive vernacular expression
Erroneous division/analysis/segmentation	descriptive vernacular expression
Mistaken division/analysis/segmentation	descriptive vernacular expression
Incorrect division/analysis/segmentation	descriptive vernacular expression
Wrong division/analysis/segmentation	descriptive vernacular expression
False separation	vernacular expression for subtractive junctural metanalysis
Syllabic merging	vernacular expression for additive junctural metanalysis
Reanalysis	modern linguistic category; cf. Steven Pinker (1994)
Refactorization	modern linguistic category
Rebracketing	modern linguistic category
Resegmentation	modern linguistic category
Recutting	modern linguistic category
Morphological reanalysis	modern linguistic category
Morphophonemic analogy	modern linguistic category
Morphosyntactic misalignment	modern linguistic category
Juncture displacement	modern linguistic category

Juncture loss	modern linguistic category
Affix clipping	modern linguistic category
False splitting	modern linguistic category
Back formation	modern linguistic category
Morpheme segmentation error	modern psycholinguistic category
Phonetic misanalysis	modern psycholinguistic category
Unmarked morpheme boundary	modern psycholinguistic category
Lack of open juncture phoneme (/+/)	modern linguistic and psycholinguistic category
Agglutination	especially of the articles in the Romance languages
Deglutination	especially of the articles in the Romance languages
Concretion	synonymous with agglutination
Concrezione	dell' articolo (in Italian)
Discrezione	dell' articolo (in Italian)
Agglutinazione	dell' articolo (in Italian)
Deglutinazione	dell' articolo (in Italian)
Agglutinement	de l'article (in French)
Déglutination	de l'article (in French)
Aglutinación	del artículo (in Spanish)
Deglutinación	del artículo (in Spanish)
Liaison	e.g., French *petit appartement*
Enchaînement	e.g., French *petite orange*
Elision	e.g., French *l'incendie*
Holorime/Olorime	especially in French and Spanish
Mondegreen	coined by Sylvia Wright (1954)
Oronym	coined by Gyles Brandreth (1980); popularized by Steven Pinker (1994)
External sandhi	Sanskrit grammatical term
Sandhi-shifting	Sanskrit grammatical term
Sandhi-Verschiebung	German for sandhi-shifting
Wortfugenprobleme	canonized by Manu Leumann (1950)

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Periodicals in the field of Classical Studies that are listed in *L'Année philologique* are abbreviated accordingly, with the exceptions of *TAPA* for *TAPhA*, *CP* for *CPh*, *HSCP* for *HSPh*, and *AJP* for *AJPh*. Also, *KZ/ZVS/HSF* stands for: *Kuhns Zeitschrift = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen* (volumes 1–22 = 1852–1874); *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* (volumes 23–81 = 1875–1967); *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (volumes 82–100 = 1968–1987); *Historische Sprachforschung* (volumes 101–). The names of all other periodicals are written out in full.

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